INDIAN COSTUMES

A. BISWAS

PUBLICATIONS DIVISION

SHOUT
SHARE
IT

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2018 with funding from
Public.Resource.Org

https://archive.org/details/indiancostumes00bisw

INDIAN COSTUMES

A. BISWAS

PUBLICATIONS DIVISION
MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

First print : 1985 (*Saka 1906*)

Reprint : 2003 *(Saka 1924)*

© Publications Division

ISBN : 81-230-1055-9

Price : Rs. 110.00

Published by The Director, Publications Division,
Ministry of Information and Broadcasting,
Government of India, Patiala House, New Delhi-110 001

SALES EMPORIA • PUBLICATIONS DIVISION

- Patiala House, Tilak Marg, New Delhi-110001 (Ph. 23387069)
- Soochna Bhavan, CGO Complex, Lodhi Road, New Delhi-110003 (Ph. 24367260)
- Hall No. 196, Old Secretariat, Delhi-110054 (Ph. 23890205)
- Commerce House, Currimbhoy Road, Ballard Pier, Mumbai-400038 (Ph. 22610081)
- 8, Esplanade East, Kolkata-700069 (Ph. 22488030)
- Rajaji Bhawan, Besant Nagar, Chennai-600090 (Ph. 24917673)
- Press Road, Near Govt. Press, Thiruvananthapuram-695001 (Ph. 2330650)
- Block No. 4, 1st Floor, Gruhakalpa Complex, M.G. Road, Nampally, Hyderabad-500001 (Ph. 24605383)
- 1st Floor, 'F' Wing, Kendriya Sadan, Koramangala, Bangalore-560034 (Ph. 25537244)
- Bihar State Co-operative Bank Building, Ashoka Rajpath, Patna-800004 (Ph. 22300096)
- 2nd floor, Hall No 1, Kendriya Bhawan, Aliganj, Lucknow - 226 024 (Ph. 2208004)
- Ambica Complex, 1st Floor, Paldi, Ahmedabad-380007 (Ph. 26588669)
- Naujan Road, Ujan Bazar, Guwahati-781001 (Ph. 2516792)

SALES COUNTERS • PRESS INFORMATION BUREAU

- CGO Complex, 'A' Wing, A.B. Road, Indore (M.P.) (Ph. 2494193)
- 80, Malviya Nagar, Bhopal-462003 (M.P.) (Ph. 2556350)
- B-7/B, Bhawani Singh Road, Jaipur-302001 (Rajasthan) (Ph. 2384483)

Website : http://www.publicationsdivision.nic.in
E-mail : dpd@sb.nic.in or dpd@hub.nic.in

Typeset at : Quick Prints, Naraina, New Delhi - 110 028.

Printed at : Akashdeep Printers, 20 Ansari Road, Darya Ganj, Delhi.

PREFACE

Costume is a cultural visual, a mirror of the time and the people. The dress of a people presents a vital clue to their mood and taste, their aesthetic temper, their art and skill to adjust to their social and geographical environment, their resilience to various influences, in short, to their way of living.

In this book, an attempt has been made to capture the glimpses of our sartorial world through time and space. *Indian Costumes* provides a brief survey of how our people dressed themselves in the past and how they now dress themselves in the different regions of this country. A brief has also been made of styles of coiffures and the use of ornaments, cosmetics and fabrics. A selected glossary added at the end of the book may be found useful.

The bewildering range and multiplicity of regional and local dresses with varieties of styles according to different classes and communities make it obviously impossible to include everything in so slight a volume. One is forced to be selective at places without omitting the most representative styles of wear.

The material for the book has been collected from many sources-standard books on Indian costumes, *District Gazetteers* of different States and *Village Survey Monographs* of Census of India, 1961 and 1971. The illustrations of chapters III and IV are mostly based on Dr. Charles Fabri's line drawings appearing in his book *A History of Indian Dress*. I owe a deep debt of gratitude to the authors of these books and documents. My thanks are also due to Shri R.K. Bose for the illustrations.

A. BISWAS

CONTENTS

I.	Introduction	1
II.	Through the Ages : Harappa Period to the Mauryan Times	5
III.	Through the Ages : Second Century B.C. to Eleventh Century A.D.	10
IV.	Through the Ages : The Era of the Sultans and the Mughal Emperors	18
V.	Through the Ages : The British Period and After	29
VI.	Contemporary Scene I : Northern and Western Regions	37
VII.	Contemporary Scene-II Eastern Region	50
VIII.	Contemporary Scene-III : Southern Region	62
IX.	Rural and Tribal Costumes (North)	73
X.	Rural and Tribal Costumes (South)	82
XI.	Dance Costumes	89
XII.	Coiffures and Cosmectics	94
XIII.	Traditional Ornaments	100
XIV.	Fabrics and Their Aesthetics	110
XV.	How to wear Sari and Dhoti	114
XVI.	Epilogue	120
	Glossary	127
	Index	133

Chapter I

Introduction

The story of the dress of a people from age to age presents a vital clue to their social and economic conditions, their mood and taste, their aesthetic temper, their love for beauty and refinement, their art and skill to adjust to the material and geographical environment, their resourcefulness, their resilience to influences, external and internal, in short, their way of living. A historical pageant of constumes of a community or a nation is an essential aspect of its cultural heritage. No people proud of their heritage can miss it.

The community or its leaders decide as to what to wear, how to wear it and what are the distinctions to be made on the basis of sex and age, class and caste, religion and region, occasion and occupation. What part of the body has to be covered and what has to be left bare, how to cc ıceal and how to reveal are questions of community sanction. It all depends on how the community thinks about these matters and all such thinking decides the style of dress. Costume is a cultural visual, a mirror of the time and the people.

Man's thinking changes, so do the styles in dress. On the one hand it is an imitation of the old, on the other an adjustment to the new needs, tastes and circumstances. This is how culture lives, regulates and rejuvenates itself from time to time. Foreign conquests, exotic ideas and new influences bring in changes on the sartorial horizon and yet the old is never dead. In the wake of conquests, either the old absorbs the new or the new adopts the old.

Dress has become a vital part of our living. We hardly think of its beginnings in the remote past. Looking back through aeons of time we discover the dim distant age when man lived in caves, when there was no cotton, no wool, no silk. Man's only concern was securing his food and preserving his life. Dress did not exist then. It had to emerge through a long tedious process of evolution. The painting, cutting and tattooing of the skin were the first attempts of man to look a little different than what God had made him. Body decoration was the first step towards dress. When the primitive hunter returned after a chase or battle with scratches and stains of blood all over his body he was given a hero's welcome. The gory evidences of his glorious might, the blood stains and scars were considered silent symbols of his courage, skill and success. Thus an urge arose to have some permanent marks of honour. What else could they have thought of than to decorate themselves by daubing their faces and colouring of bodies. Soon these symbols gathered in patterns and designs. Then man discovered new ideas to scratch and slash his skin with permanent patterns. This was followed by tattooing.

The second step towards dress was the impulse that arose in man to attach

something to his body. He cut a hole in the lip, nose or ears and ran a bit of wood, bone or stone through it. He also began hanging somethings from his neck and tying something around his waist, limbs and fingers. Then he started using other things besides facial ornaments. He wore his trophies of war—the chief of the tribe wore necklaces of teeth, bones, claws, feathers and polished stones. Similarly the hair of the head was found a natural holder for leaf, flower, feather and horn ornaments. The girdle preceded the use of any other covering. It was first a male appendage found useful for carrying tools for hunting operations as it kept the hands free. It was more like a modern pocket and the idea of a suspender came later. This was the first real article of clothing, and what could be more natural than to hang grass, leaves, flowers or feathers from it. This set a fashion which brought in its wake the short grass skirt. It became an article of decoration, protection and concealment.

The idea of the upper garment emerged perhaps after the grass skirt. It could be that one day the chief of the tribe came home wearing the skin of some animal about his shoulders and that started a craze. Every hunter would try to save the best animal skins to display over his body. It made him look impressive. The chief and the principal men of the tribe claimed special clothings and ornaments. This gave birth to the idea of dress as a symbol of dignity, distinction and status.

The experimenting process plodded its way through time till it reached the gates of ancient river valley civilization. The Egyptians were the first to leave their records of costume in durable pictures painted on the walls of tombs and temples. Our Harappan civilization was almost contemporary to the Ancient Egyptian civilization. But the archaeological finds from the Indus Valley civilization do not provide us with adequate evidence to say with certainty how these people dressed themselves.

Clothings help in furnishing adornment, protecting the wearer from the elements, maintaining modesty, or fixing status. It has been seen how pre-historic men realised these four important functions of what they put on their body, whether it was a paint, a grass skirt or the skin of an animal.

Besides these four functions, which are frequently combined, costume serves other factors which have a direct influence on what the people wear. They could be geographical, technological, aesthetical and historical factors. There could be more.

It will be a geographical compulsion in very cold regions like Ladakh, Leh and Lahul to have thick woollen, fur or even skin garments to protect every part of the body. Man would not survive if he does not take all protective care against the biting cold or snow. In hot humid tropical places man needs free movement of air over his body. As such he traditionally wears little clothing and keeps as much part of the body exposed as possible. Draped clothing best suits the tropical monsoon climate. Sari and dhoti best serve the purpose. Dress is also affected by the natural resources and material available. Early fabrics in Egypt were linen, in India cotton and in Greece wool.

Technological advancements also bring changes in dress. In the 19th century the sewing machines helped mass production of garments copied from the upper class, thereby enabling the workers also to wear them. The 20th century has seen the invention and fashion of varieties of synthetic fabrics.

Whether or not garments are needed for protection, in all civilizations it is worn for modesty. The sense of shame about exposed skin is purely a matter of social convention. It varies widely from one place to another and may change with time. Customs and usages largely dictate the limits of modesty. When people become accustomed through many centuries to cover a certain part of the body, an aura of secrecy gathers round the region. It will greatly shock the society if that part is ever exposed. It is this same reason that makes it difficult to believe that Indian women in the past did not generally wear an upper garment. In fact, it is the covering that causes the feeling of modesty and not modesty that causes the covering.

This feeling of shame that arises due to exposure of that which is concealed by social custom is more predominant in the case of women. Concealment is an aid to protection against attraction. But strangely enough clothes have enhanced the charm which they were supposedly to conceal or subdue. Psychologically, the suggestion that something is hidden from view adds to allurement. Clothes have thus the dual function of concealment and display at the same time. They adorn the body while they cover it.

Aesthetically dress serves two purposes. It helps to accentuate the beauty of the human form towards perfection by suitable emphasis. It also contrives to conceal what is not shapely or beautiful by intelligently designing artificial folds, lines and curves on the clothes. No doubt a good dress sometimes provides an illusory effect but it provides great satisfaction and pride to the wearer, and as Thomas Fuller said, "Good clothes open all doors".

Dress distinguishes a person's status and position in society. It tickles his vanity. He wants to look more beautiful or handsome, more important or impressive than his peers. He tries to give the feeling that he belongs to a group superior to or more important than other groups. These attributes of the ego may not surface at all times and in many men or groups. But an intuitive pride in self elegance goads him imperceptibly. In the primitive stage, the chief of the tribe knew well that his position in the tribe depended on his acquisition of those gaudy dresses and funny trinklets which had been accepted as symbols of authority. Among tribal communities men flaunt various dress elegances according to their hierarchy in the tribe. In the eastern hilly regions each clan or subclan can be distinguished by its style of dress or the typical designs of the shawl. The school uniform displays the pride of belonging to a certain institution. People of the wealthy class will have costly garments and precious ornaments. In the defence services it is the uniform that gets the salute because it represents a certain rank in the hierarchy.

Historical events have been of great significance in changing the style of our dress. The invasion of Alexander introduced the Hellenic touch. The Kushan kings acquainted us with the long coat and boots. The Muslim influence gifted us the *sherwani* and *churidar* pyjamas, the *kameez* and *salwar.* British rule gave us the coat, trousers and tie.

Religion and belief in supernatural powers have also exercised a subtle influence on what people wear. What part of the body should be kept covered and what type of dress should be worn during the act of worshipping or at the time of religious ceremonies or otherwise are prescribed norms. Sometimes neck ornaments, amulets, armlets, bracelets, ear ornaments and finger rings of alloyed metal studded with stones were worn as security from evil spirits and certain sickness. Some people still adorn their forehead with

auspicious markings. Some wear the sacred thread *(yajnopavita)* as a religious requirement. It appears on the stone sculptures of both men and women since the 2nd century. Some of these practices have now lost their religious orientation or magical significance. Some of these articles have now turned into adornments.

To discover how people dressed themselves in the ages gone by, we have to take recourse to literature, sculpture, terracotta, paintings and coins of those times. Interestingly enough all the ancient sculptures represent men and women bare down to the waist. Naturally, to the Indian mind, it is difficult to accept these artistic depictions as copy from life. Some historians assert that women even in those times always kept their breast veiled. The line of argument has been that in that age of artistic fervent the sculptors wanted to take the advantage of the new found opportunity to display their artistic excellence by showing the upper part bare, for it requires greater talent and skill to sculpt the nude or partially nude form. They cite examples of nude sculptures of the Greeks. This point does not go far. There is no doubt that the Greeks loved to depict the nude but they had also sculpted thousands of statues showing minute details of dresses worn by every type of people.

Throughout the history of Indian art from the earliest times to the 11th or the 12th century, women as a rule, are shown without the upper garment except, here and there, with a thin scarf as a piece of decoration. Those rare cases where women have an upper garment may pertain to foreigners and maid servants of the royal household. But even sculptured portrayals of kings and their queens commissioned by royalty are shown without any upper garment. It does not stand to reason that the kings would have allowed public exposure of the sculpted bare bosom of their wives, if in reality, the queens were accustomed to keep their torsos properly covered. Modesty is a matter of social convention and permissibility. The archaeologists and scholars provide us reasons to accept that the styles of dress depicted on the sculptures are direct matter-of-fact presentations of reality and not a mere product of the sculptor's imagination.

In the following chapters we will witness the drama of the dress on the panorama of life unfolding itself scene by scene in graceful patterns. Indian sartorial scenes have changed rather slowly. Certain basic fashions have remained the same for a long time though changes in emphasis and minor details continued. In fact any major shift depends on the holding power of tradition and the pressing demands of the times. Continuity and change are the two essential characteristics of a living culture. Culture ensures that we are not totally uprooted from our past inheritance. It also promises that we must keep abreast with the march of time. The same phenomena applies to costumes as they represent one of the facets of a culture.

Chapter II

Through the Ages : Harappa Period to the Mauryan Times

For the beginning of the story of the Indian costume, we have to go back to antiquity and introduce ourselves to the golden age of a civilization that flourished more than 4500 years ago. The materials unearthed from the buried towns of Harappa and Mohenjodaro are not sufficient to form a clear picture of the normal attire of the people. They are mostly small figurines, statuettes and terracotta pieces of a few inches in height and half the figurines are without clothes. A bust of a bearded man shows a shawl drawn over the left shoulder and under the right arm. Since the statuette does not reach below the chest nothing can be inferred about the lower garment. The right arm has an armlet and the hair is secured by a fillet. A male figure on a shred appears to be wearing a close clinging loin-cloth. Deities represented on the amulets wear only a thin band round the loin. Clay figurines of the mother goddess are bare to the waist and have jewellery and a scanty kneelength loin cloth held by a girdle or strings. There is no evidence of footwear.

This is all. Actual specimens of a complete garment are totally absent. It is difficult to draw inferences or make any generalisation about the regular dress of the people. At the same time it is hard to believe that dress was of little concern to these inhabitants of the city civilization who knew how to lay out their city with straight bathrooms, use beautifully painted fine pottery, wear ornaments of gold and semiprecious stones and weave cotton clothes.

The Aryans probably migrated into India somewhere near the middle of the second millenium. We get a fair picture of their culture and civilization through the vast Vedic literature available. *Rigveda* explains that a person about to participate in a religious ceremony was not considered complete without the prescribed garments. This finds its echo in the Shakespearean aphorism— 'The apparel oft proclaims the man'. The importance assigned to dress can be gauged from the fact that the various parts of the Vedic apparel were consecrated to different deities. A good dress was appreciated as it may be inferred from the frequent use of words like *suvasa* (splendid garment), *suvasana* (well clad) and *surabhi* (well-fitting clothes).

According to Rigvedic evidence, a person's dress *(vasana* or *vastra)* consisted of only two garmets, namely the *vasa* (lower garment) and the *adhivasa* (upper garment). Skins and grass *(kusa)* formed one class of Vedic dress traditionally associated with *munis, rishis,* hermits and forest tribes. *Maruts* wore deer-skins. The word *atka* appears to mean a closefitting garment and *drapi* may have been a gold embroidered mantle. The word

pesas could have been used for a kind of embroidered garment of female dancers, and a special apparel used by a bride at the marriage ceremony was called *vadhuya*. The exact meaning of these words are doubtful. The difference between the dress of men and women appears to be insignificant and one Rigvedic hymn says that a husband could easily exchange his garments with those of his wife. In the *Rigveda* there is no mention of a headdress or footwear.

Dress in the age of the later Samhitas and Brahmanas consisted of three garments: *nivi* (lower garment), *vasa* (a garment proper), and *adhivasa* (an upper garment like a mantle or cloak). The *Satapatha Brahmana* describes the various articles of dress prescribed for men intent on sacrifice. It consisted of a silk lower garment *(tarpaya),* a garment of undyed wool, an upper garment and a turban *(ushnisha).* In those days turbans were worn both by men and women. Clothes were generally woven of sheep's wool. Frequent references occur regarding *urna-sutra* (woollen thread). Men wore sandals made of boar-skin. The word *nivi* frequently occurs in Vedic literature. Apart from the use of the word to denote lower garment, some authorities have explained *nivi* as that part of the pleated bunch of *dhoti* which is tucked in at the navel. There is a prayer addressed to the *nivi* of the bridegroom recited at the time of marriage to the effect that all evil may be obstructed by the *nivi.* The description of the *nivi* also suggests the manner of wearing the lower garment. Both men and women used to wear it round the waist with one of the surplus ends tucked in at the navel. It is, however, not known whether the other end was drawn between the legs and also tucked in at the back like a dhoti.

In the last period of the Vedic age, that is in the age of *Upanishads* and *Sutras*, two pieces of clothing are mentioned, the *antariya* (lower garment) and the *uttariya* (upper garment), both for the use of men and women. The importance of the upper garment which had never been stressed in the textual references of an earlier period had now been brought home. In one of the *Griha Sutras* the student returning home from his teacher was advised to dress himself in two garments. In case he had only one garment then a part of the lower garment was to be used as an upper garment. The skin of a deer or goat was also considered a very holy garment. Woollen blankets were also in popular favour as garment. For the *upanita* ceremony for initiating a boy into the student career, cotton, woollen, linen, hempen or even silken clothes were used. A complete dress for a young educated man consisted of a set of clothes, turban, ear rings, shoes, a staff of bamboo and an umbrella.

In post-Vedic literature we come across casual references to dress without having any exact descriptions of it. Manu, the lawgiver par excellence, marked the transition from Vedic to Puranic and Epic thought. At one place he wrote, "Let all men who are desirous of wealth continually supply women of their family with ornaments, apparel and food at the time of festivals. A wife must be elegantly attired. When a wife is gaily adorned her whole house is embellished." This is a prescription and not a description of a dress, but it stresses the importance of dressing elegantly.

In the age of Epics, we meet a galaxy of great warriors, princes, kings and queens. They are described to be wearing 'gorgeous attire' and 'costly robes'. These gorgeous epithets to sound impressive but do not convey any vivid image of the dress. References occur that ladies of well-to-do families wore two garments. In the *Mahabharata,*

Damayanti and Draupadi could not afford the luxury of the two garments after their husbands lost everything in the game of dice.

The Vedic and Epic ages have given us great literature but not a single piece of sculpture. There are plenty of words used for dresses but there is not a single description regarding the nature and mode of wear. Exact connotation of many terms used with reference to garments is doubtful. However, with all the sartorial information culled from a pile of literature covering over a thousand years, we can still attempt to form an image, in general terms, of the dress of the period. The tall, broad-chested men and high coiffured women adorned with gold and silver ornaments wore a lower garment hanging from their waist down to the ankles displaying elaborate pleats and artistic waist-knot. They sometimes carried an upper garment arranged in their own fashion—rolled, gathered or spread out—so as to adorn or cover the body.

For the first time in Indian history at the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. we are face to face with large sized human figures in sculpture displaying the costumes of the day with realistic concern. These are the *yaksha* statues from Parkham and Baroda now in Mathura Museum, the *yaksha* images from Patna and a statue of *yakshini* from Besnagar in the Indian Museum and the graceful *yakshini* figure from Didarganj in the Patna Museum. *Yakshas* and *yakshinis* were divine personages or spirits of forests and waters. Out of this group a description of the dresses of Parkham *yaksha* and Didarganj *yakshini* may give an idea of the costume of the period.

The dhoti-like lower garment of the Parkham figure (Fig. 1) is wound round a little below the waist, reaching down to the ankles. The garment is a simple rectangular cloth, long enough to go round the waist leaving a small surplus portion of the two ends. These surplus portions are sometimes made to overlap over the abdomen or used to form front pleats. The lower garment is adorned with a *patka* which is a narrow band of embroidered cloth with ornamental fringes. Its one end is tucked in at the waist near the navel and the other end is allowed to hang down to the ground. The *patka* not only serves the purpose of decoration but also provides a proper cover between the two legs. A *kamarband* (waist-band) is fastened over the garment with a knot, the two ends of which sling down to the knees. The lower garment at the lower end in the front is drawn a little upward to show the feet and to provide curvilinear folds in the garment over the legs, perhaps to add a little dignity to the figure. This slight lift of the garment gives the illusion of the *kachcha* style in which the end of the cloth is passed through the legs and tucked in at the back. But this garment is without a *kachcha*. The upper garment consists of a gathered band of cloth scarf tied round the lower part of a chest with a loop handing on the side. The Parkham figure has neither a headgear nor footwear. An ornamental scarf is displayed like a garland on the chest.

The other *yakshas* of this period wore similar clothing. It is noteworthy about costume of a period that the basic style of wearing a dress accommodates minor nuances according to the taste and needs of the wearer. Such minor differences do not change the style-format but add variety to it. The Patna *yaksha* in the Indian Museum ties the *kamarband* with a beautiful bow-shaped knot which has a long loop reaching below the knee and two tasselled ends resting on the right thigh. The upper gathered scarf crosses the torso in the *upavita* fashion from the left shoulder to the right hip and its two ends

Fig. 1

are knotted near the left shoulder.

The Didarganj *yakshini* (Fig. 2), the first landmark in female costume, wraps the garment round the waist lower down the navel and skilfully draws up its two frontal ends to produce deligthtful folds. A five-stringed girdle with two clasps secures the lower garment. A *patka* is folded lengthwise into two halves and the folded edge is tucked into the garment. One half of the *patka* is allowed to hang straight, the

Fig. 2

other half is lifted up and tucked in again to form a knee-length loop. A gathered scarf tucked in the girdle near the left side transversely passes behind over the seat, reaches the right elbow, takes a skilful twist before falling down to the ground. The *yakshini* wears ornaments along the hair, on the forehead and in the ears. One beaded necklet surrounds the neck and a two stringed necklace passing between the breasts forms a loop below. She wears enormous bangle on each of her ankles. The Besnagar figure looks similar with the five-stringed girdle over which a very loose *kamarband* is knotted with a loop hanging down. The lower garment thus doubly secured, terminates just below the knees.

The little controversy regarding the dating of these figures place them either near the close of the Mauryan period or the beginning of the Sunga dynasty (187 B.C.). But they are, in all probability, within 50 years of the great Ashoka's reign (273-232 B.C.). In the ancient period, the style of dress changed very slowly. It took almost a century to detect any minor changes in fashion. Therefore, it can be fairly assumed that the people during Ashoka's time dressed themselves in a similar manner as depicted in the *yaksha* and *yakshini* figures.

Chapter III

Through the Ages :
Second Century B.C. to Eleventh Century A.D.

Second and First Centuries B.C.

A study of the sculptures engraved on the railings of Bharhut and Bodh-Gaya and the gateways of Sanchi, and the earliest Ajanta paintings give us an inkling of the costumes of the period. They are a treasure-house of knowledge for the social and cultural life of the Indian people.

The male costume (Fig. 3) consisted of a lower garment, a single piece of cloth wrapped round the waist below the navel. It reached down just below the knees. As we saw earlier, the prevalent fashion was to draw up the two ends of the garment in front to produce curvilinear folds. A thin muslin cloth gathered in the form of a *kamarband* was tied over the garment with a loop and two tassel ends falling in front. There was no upper garment except a simple scarf which was thrown over the shoulders. Men always wore a turban which was characterised by a bulbous knot in front. The commonest way of wearing this headgear was to twist one end of the turban scarf around a knot of hair to form the protrusion and then to take the other end round the head three or four times to form schematic folds. Enormous ear-ornaments, generally of a tubular form ran through big holes made in the earlobes. Moustaches also helped to give a lift to the face. One or two bracelets of the simplest type adorned the wrists but the feet were bare.

The female costume (Fig. 4) was similar to that of men. The women wore the lower garment which came down to the ankles. Sometimes it terminated at the knees. The material of the garment was so thin that the legs were visible. A multi-stringed girdle *(mekhla)* was worn a little below the nromal waist-line. A thin *kamarband* looking like a ribbon was knotted over the *mekhla* and the loop and the ends of the tassel fell in front between the legs. The women did not have any covering for the upper part of the body. Women too wore the turban as the men did, though it was not too often. Latest trend in coiffure and jewelry attracted their attention. A scraf was sometimes used as a decoration for the head. The ornaments were simple. On festive occasions the number of bangles and neck ornaments increased. Anklets were not popularly worn though we saw its appearance in the Didarganj figure.

The dress of the common people drifted towards simplification while that of the upper classes towards elaboration. Men and women of the upper classes wore the lower garment with elaborate accompaniment of a broader embroidered *kamarband* and ornamental *patka*. Gorgeous frills and rich lappets flowed down between the legs from

Fig. 3

the waist to the ankles. Men wore the scarf in several ways. The middle portion of the scarf would rest on the chest like a garland with both the ends thrown at the back in the fashion represented in the Parkham figure. In another style the scarf would form a loop at the back while the two ends would pass through the armpits and hang delicately balanced over the elbows. Still another style would have the scarf thrown across the chest. The elegant headgears

Fig. 4

show the artistic proclivities of the age. Attempts were made to resemble them to the shapes of a conch, fan, heart, lamp, cone and the like. Sometimes the turban was tied round a projected frame and jewels were worn over it. Scull and conical caps sometimes appeared as headgear. Women arranged the head-scarf in several ways.

Fig. 5

First and Second Centuries A.D.

Kushan sculptures from Mathura, Gandhara sculptures from the then north-western India and reliefs from Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda provide us with sartorial specimens of the period. Kushan coins also furnish important details. In these dresses we find traces of the old and a touch of the new. Men continued to wear a lower garment, a *kamarband,* a scarf on the shoulder and a turban and women a lower garment, a *mekhla* and a *kamarband,* leaving the body above the waist as bare as before. But a new fashion of wearing the *kamarband* and a new style of turban in men and anklets in women excited attention. The old ribbon-like *kamarband* developed into a richer and broader band. It was prominently displayed both my men and women in various fanciful styles.

In one of the sculptures (Fig. 5) a maid servant carrying a jug of water and a basket of food wears a twisted *kamarband* with the smaller end dangling down the navel and the larger end flowing down on the left side after forming loops with the aid of a skilful knot. In some sculptured figures each free end of the *kamarband* is looped and tucked in on either side of the waist. In another style only one end is attached to the left side and the other end is held by the hand. Sometimes the process is reversed by forming a loop at the back. Another development of interest was the use of large and heavy anklets. In the Mauryan and Sunga times heavy anklets were sometimes worn, as found decorating the ankles of Didarganj *yakshini.* In the first century light anklets were found in use, but in the second century the women

became so enamoured with this fashion that they vied with one another by having two and at a later stage three fetter-like silver decorations, never minding the load on their gait. The tendency to wear a nearly transparent lower garment continued.

In the male costume a turban with an upward turret-like portuberance became the fashion, though other varieties were also in existence. The *Kamarband* styles were almost similar to that of women. Men started wearing the lower garment in the *kachcha* style. However, the use of the *kachcha* was not universal. Dress habits of the north and south of India continued to be similar. The turret-like turbans, fanciful *kamarbands* and heavy anklets were also popular in the south. In the second half of the 2nd century B.C. a thick and long sacred thread *(yajnopavita)* appeared across the chest from the right shoulder down to the left knee. It was prominently worn both by men and women. This was typically a southern gift zealously adopted by the north.

Fig. 6

Third Century

There were minor changes in style. The *kamarband* which earlier dominated the scene did not find admirers in this period and, therefore, slowly disappeared from the sartorial ensemble of both men and women. In place of the turret-like turban many other styles found an honourable place on the head. The earlier fashions of bulbous knot returned with a little subdued display. The turban did not look so voluminous as it was tightly secured. The costumes of males and females, with the exception of the headgear and jewellery, remained the same for many centuries.

Women now rarely used the *mekhla* which had once a pride of place. In its place the lower garment was held up by a string (Fig. 6). Women generally preferred not to cover their heads so that they could have scope to embellish and display their lovely coiffures. The style of wearing a ring-like headgear with two flowing ribbons at the back, typical of Iranina head-dress,

was widespread in northern Indian during this century. Sometimes bow-shaped decorations were attached to the coiffures and sometimes tiaras or crowns encircled them. The lower garment was of a longer length so that the free end could be gathered in folds and tucked in near the navel. The gathered scarf of the earlier century was now replaced by a broad *chadar*-like cloth wich was thrown across the shoulder. Like the scarf, there were a variety of styles to wear the *chadar*. There was seemingly little difference between the dress of men and women excepting the turban. Men and women wore almost similar upper and lower garments, necklaces, armlets, bracelets and earrings.

Fig. 7

The costume of the then north-western India is represented in the Gandhara sculptures. While Indian costume in the early centuries of the Christian era was developing a distinctive Indian style, the costume of the people of the north-west developed on a different line influence by Greco-Roman conventions. Even then in the Gandhara ensemble we find the purely Indian lower garment, shoulder-scarf and turban, side by side with foreign tunic, trousers, turban and caps. Both types are often intermixed.

Fourth to Sixth Centuries

The Guptas whose dynasty began in the 320 B.C. had already carved an empire in the north during the 4th century. Though their political supremacy did not last beyond the 5th century, the cultural styles including that of dress ushered in by them continued till A.D. 600. In the Deccan the Vakatakas ruled. During the 5th century, Ajanta paintings in the Vakataka kingdom were at their best and show us in minute and colourful detail the attire of the people from every walk of life. They cover all types of costumes of the north and the Deccan. Another significant point is that the paintings of Ajanta continued the realistic tradition of the earlier times with the sculptural art of the Guptas and the Vakatakas had become conventional and idealised.

Men and women, whether princes or princesses or their various attendants, dressed in a simple but elegant fashion. The kings and princes wore a striped lower garment up to the knee or just above it. Sometimes, a not-too-

broad *kamarband* girted the waist and a very narrow scarf passed over the chest. An elaborately decorated crown was worn though many a time the head remained uncovered. The famous figure of Padmapani illustrates the conventional representation of a king's costume. Intereseingly, many Gupta coins show the emperors wearing a tight-fitting half-sleeved tunic with two pointed lower ends projecting on the sides and tight fitting trousers of a *churidar* type. It copied the fashion of Kushan kings. Sometimes the tunic had a coat-like open front with buttons and fasteners. Nevertheless, some coins show the emperors in their indigenous attire. The adoption of both types of costumes can be compared to our present-day style in which both European and Indian dress are worn side by side according to the needs of the occasion. The ministers and merchants were found wearing tunics, *chadars* and shoes. The dress of the common man can be appreciated from a scene of Visvantara Jataka in Cave XVII where three persons are shown dressed in three different styles—a lower garment upto the knees with a *chadar* covering the whole body; a lower garment reaching the feet and a striped broad *kamarband* with a loop on the left side, the uper part of the body remaining bare; and a very short waist-wrap not reaching the knees and a scarf transversely thrown across the chest. No headgear was worn. The lower garment was sometimes worn in the *kachcha* style.

Fig. 8

The women wore a knee-length lower garment in the Maharashtrian style where the end was pulled between the legs and tucked into the waistband. Red and black striped patterns or checks were favoured (Fig. 7). No upper garment was worn. Sometimes the ladies had a narrow strip of cloth tied across the breast. Such breast-bands were worn by foreign serving maids. The upper classes sometimes made use of the *mekhla* and light *kamarband* whose ends were allowed to stream in the wind at the back. The women in general kept their heads uncovered but sometimes they wore

tiaras indicative of a higher social status. The coiffure was simple. A bun with flowers or a pigtail entwined with ribbons and flowers was considered enough. They wore few ornaments of simple kind. All women did not wear anklets but many of them used a light anklet on each of the anklets or on only one foot, preferably the left. Another new style was to wear the armlet singly, preferably on the right arm. This is the first time that the use of the *bindi* on the forehead can be seen in some paintings.

In the 6th century there were minor changes. The lower garment became shorter, jewellery more rich and varied and coiffure more elaborate and decorative. A new style of corkscrew-like curls falling to the shoulder or streaming down over the forehead became popular. Towards the end of the 6th century men of position started using 'wig'-style head-dresses.

Fig. 9

Seventh and Eighth Centuries

The seventh century witnessed a further development of the costume into a baroque style. This style was borne out of the tendency of the age towards sheer exaggeration, rich variations and unusual effects. In the world of costume it was a craze for novelty just for its own sake. The coiffure was caught in a deluge of infinite variety and enormous ornamental glitter. Even men in a seemingly effeminate manner piled up their hair in a three-tier bun and bejewelled it (Fig. 8). Sometimes the woman's hair-do represented a halo. Bright colours of all kinds jostled to find a place on the ornamnets and garments. The people of this age relished to wear crowns and jewels and big earrings. Some men sported jewelled waistbands, though the style did not last long. Huen Tsang who visited India in the middle of this century recorded that men wore caps on their head with flower wreaths and put on jewelled necklets. The sacred thread (*yajnopavita*) again made its appearance. It was also widely worn by women but was more popular in the south than in the north. Now a tendency for the lower garment of women to reach to the feet and that of the men to terminate at the knees became perceptible. The eighth century must be credited for the return of the *mekhla* in the form of a jewelled garland belt with dangling loops and tassels, and which was further developed in later centuries.

Ninth to Eleventh Centuries

In the absence of any great emperor with great empires, the sartorial styles of

previous centuries continued with minor regional deflections. In the ninth century, women became fond of a new hair-style with a bun on top of the head tied with a ribbon. The fashion of the *mekhla* and scarf of the second century returned. Some women wrapped a *lungi* like undergarment ending on the left hip with a frill.

By the end of the tenth century and beginning of the eleventh century, the rococo style appeared on the scene. As in the field of literature and arts so in the little sartorial world a desire took hold of men and women to look impressive in a big way. Sophistry and superfluity, glamour and gorgeousness characterised the mode of their costume. The dress of the day strove to create over the human form intricate curvilinear decorative patterns in pretty colours (Fig. 9). It was to emphasise the charming world of pleasure. The same spirit found expression in the sculptures and decorations of Khajuraho and Orissan temples.

The lower garment, brightened with clever and colourful patterns, was fastened with a belt having pendants, loops and tassels sparkling with starlike gems. Fondness for sumptuous jewelry was evident from the shining diadem, large earrings, right ornaments looping and criss-crossing the bare form from neck to navel. Jewelled roundlets graced the arm, wrists and ankles, and a silken scarf over the shoulders and arms fluttered in the wind. But time was to come when clattering hoofs of galloping horses and the shine of swords and shields of stormy warriors would snatch away the freedom of 'airy light and loose' garments draping but half the human form.

Chapter IV

Through the Ages : The Era of the Sultans and the Mughal Emperors

Between the fitful years 1000 to 1500, the throne of Delhi was tossed from one dynasty to another—Ghaznavis, Ghoris, Khiljis, Tughluqs and Lodhis in succession. In these disturbed conditions it became necessary to protect women. Amir Khurso advised his daughter, "Hold yourself in the haven of safety; turn your face to the wall, your back to the door." The only way was to ensure the seclusion of women and to strengthen the fortification of their dress in order to avoid the gaze of those who were outside their social orbit.

A new protective garment had to be designed. The conquerors wore tight-fitting trousers, a tight-sleeved long coat fitting up to the waist before flaring out in a full skirt, and a closely tied turban. The dress of their women was like that of Persian princesses. This foreign style, though not suited to a hot climate, had the advantage of providing full coverage and dignity to the body. But the conservative Indian mind was not prepared to copy the attire of those who brought turmoil and trouble into their lives. A genuine social communication between the rulers and the ruled had not yet developed.

Fig. 10

However, the Hindus worked out a solution to cover the bosom of their women, a need of vital importance and urgency. *Choli,* a tight-fitting and half-sleeved dress was evolved. It was quite different from the Persian garment. It covered only the breast. The two side edges of the *choli* were tied with strings at the back which remained, as ever, bare. Fig. 10 shows one of the many stylized drawings appearing in an old manuscript dated A.D. 1127 from Gujarat.

It is the first time that we come across a *choli*. It is also the first time in the history of Indian costumes that a sewn garment appears on the scene. With the passage of time the *choli* gathered a full circle to cover the back. The use of the needle was known in India since the *vedas* but a sanctified convention and indigenous aesthetic taste did not allow any stitch to touch the clothes. Now compelling circumstances brought the needles to rule the apparel.

In the earlier centuries women were accustomed to the use of a gathered shoulder-scarf. Now it began to be used like a real covering for the breast, back, shoulders and head. It was called *orhni* which literally means a covering. The lower garment up to the feet was already keeping guard over the body down the waist. The only risk such a loose garment had was that wind would flutter and denude the calves. The answer was to tighten the wrap close to the legs. The translucent texture of the lower garment was replaced by a thick opaque material. The tight bodice, the *orhni* and the opaque tight wrap thus stood sentinel over modesty.

In Fig. 10 the woman is wearing a length of cloth wrapped round the waist. It is evident that *ghagra* was not in use till A.D. 1127. At a very late stage a modification was adopted by stitching the two vertical ends of the lower garment. It became like a *ghagra* or *lehnga*. But stitching the original length of garment into a roll so narrowed the circumference that the facility of free and easeful movement disappeared. This sartorial inconvenience was overcome by extending the length of cloth. The need for shortening the increased circumference at the waist by the help of pleats and folds enhanced the elegance of this new costume which is still the common dress in many parts of this country. As the Rajputs were the first to militantly oppose foreign rule, they were the most concerned about this innovation. This fashion

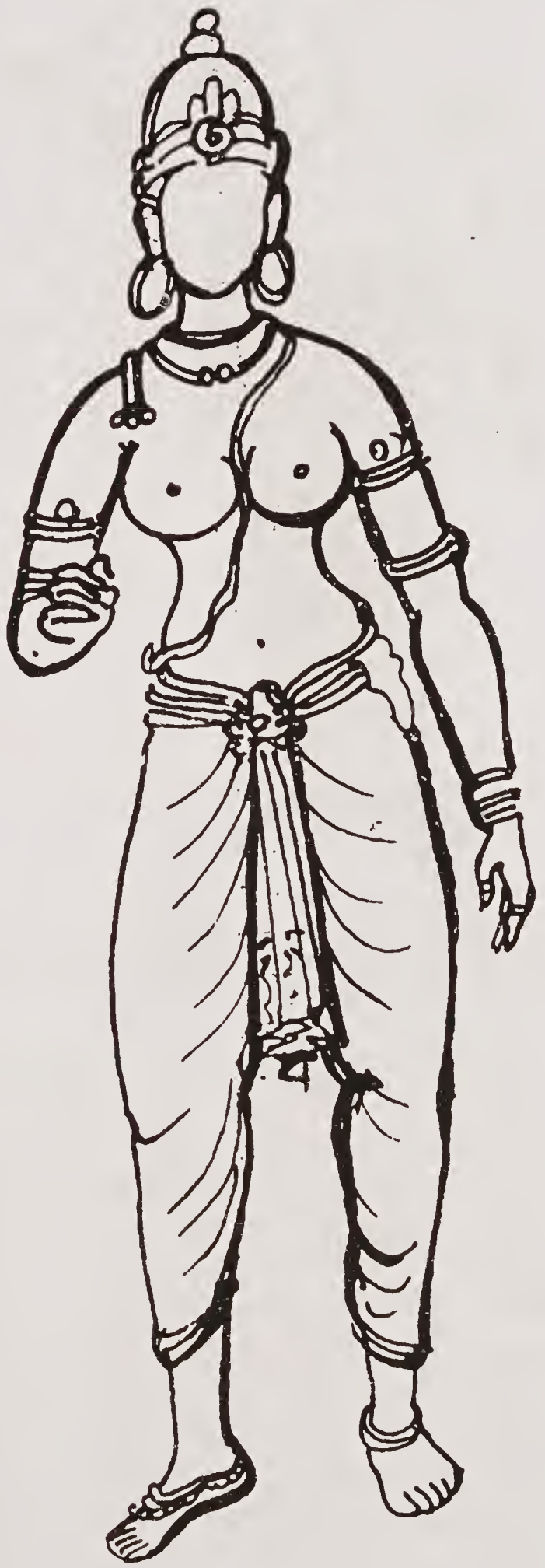


Fig. 11

Fig. 12

flourished where the Rajputs lived and ruled.

While indian costume was undergoing a revolutionary change in the north, the realms beyond the reach of the Sultanate in the east and south remained untouched by foreign influence. In the beginning of the twelfth century for the first time the difference between the costumes of the north and south became evident. Neither the rococo style nor the fashion of bodice and *ghagra* reached the south. As in Fig. 11, the cloth of the lower garment was so tightly wrapped round the legs that it gave a trouser-like appearance. Perhaps the idea was to accentuate the profile of the limbs as an aesthetic exercise.The usual ornaments of the head, ears, neck and limbs twinkled with a simple grace. But a century later in the thirteenth century the touch of rococo was felt in the ornamentation of the southern forms. Profusion of decorative jewellery and richness in variety held the show (Fig. 12). The lower garment though worn in the southern style exhibited eye-catching imaginative patterns. But if the clinging cloth round the limbs and the bare body above the waist differentiated south form north, there were also points of similarity in hairstyle and in the use of curving anklets and belts with dangling loops. Southern cloth designs were also similar to the patterns used in Rajasthan and Gujarat.

Some of the Sultans devoted time and interest towards sartorial reforms. Alauddin fixed the price of every variety of cloth and abolished import taxes so that his poor subjects could get a regular supply of cheap cloth. But luxury goods like embroidered brocades, Delhi silk and Chinese silk were not allowed to be sold to the common people. Firoz Tughluq also effected some dress reforms. He was not impressed with the glamour of garments and so banned foppish parades. Being a strict Muslim he preferred simple clothes. he decreed, "Formerly the garments of the grandees were made of silk and gold brocade. These are unlawful". But in the regime of other Sultans costume did not face such puritanic threat.

The people of ancient India had a philosophical outlook towards their clothes; these mattered little in life. But they were passionately fond of ornaments. The Muslim rulers loved both the glamour of garments and the glitter of gold. But as it was, not an inch of bare skin was available except on the face and the hands, for ornamental exhibition. The disadvantage was fully compensated by bejewelling dresses and wearing ornaments over them. Ibn Batuta

at one place refers to 'a silk robe of blue colour embroidered with gold and studded with precious stones' and 'the precious stones were so many that the colour of the cloth was hidden from view'. The dresses of kings and nobles were a copy of Persian and Turkish fashions. In an account of the Muslim costume of the fourteenth century it is found that the Sultans, Maliks and other officers wore gown *(jakalwat),* coat *(quaba)* tied at the middle of the body and turban. The gown and sleeves were gold embroidered. They plaited their hair and put silk tassels on the hanging locks. They wore gold and silver belts and used shoes and spurs. Their turban was formed by putting a conical cap *(kulah)* on the head and winding a long piece of cloth round it.

Fashion and foppishness had remained the pleasure and privilege of those who had pelf and power, culture and courage to accept the challenge of a change. During the Sultanate the difference between the well-to-do classes and the masses was almost antipodal. In spite of the political revolution, the villagers clad in scanty dresses remained busy with their ordinary occupation of life untouched and unmoved by any outside influence. When Babar entered India he found the dress of the masses so outlandish that he thought it important to be recorded in his memoirs in 1519. "Their peasant and lower classes," he wrote, "go about naked. They tie on a thing which they call *langoti,* which is a piece of cloth that hangs down two spans from the navel as a cover to their nakedness. Below this pendant modesty-clout is another slip of cloth one end of which they fasten before to a string that ties on the *langoti* and then passing the slip of cloth between the two legs bring it up and fix it to the string of the *langoti* behind. The women too have a *lang,* one end of which they tie about their waist and the other they throw over their head".

Babar himself used to put on clothes in many colour combinations. Over a tight-fitting long-sleeved garment, he wore a knee-length coat whose sleeves reached half way to the elbows (Fig. 13). At the waist a *kamarband* was tied whose two gold tipped ends hung from a looped knot on the left. The short lapel of the coat, almost like a wide collar, was sometimes made of gold cloth. His turban was shaped by a long cloth, sometimes a gold cloth, wound several times round a tall *kulah* (a sort of pointed scull-cap). He wore close-fitting trousers with boat-like shoes. High boots upto the knees were worn while riding. The outfit was suited for the cold

Fig. 13

climate of Central Asia from where it was imported. Babar's attendants also wore a half-sleeved coat whose rear reached upto the back of the knees. At the front the coat displayed one, two or three short pointed flaps hanging from the waist.

Babar's attire was more akin to that of a general and was appropriate to his great personality. With his indomitable spirit and remarkable military prowess he remained busy fighting the first battles that would lay the foundation stone of the Mughal Empire and open the way for an imperial line. Babar and Humayun did not have time or opportunity to think of any sartorial reform. The costumes of the days of the Sultanate continued. But Humayun's son Akbar was a gifted statesman destined to wield the two racial elements into a cultural synthesis. He set out to remove all invidious distinctions between Muslims and non-Muslims. He meted out fair treatment to his Hindu subjects, appointed them to high posts and encouraged inter-racial marriages. He himself married two Rajput princesses. He pursued a policy of universal toleration by holding religious discourses. He was the first Mughal Emperor who did not sport a beard. All this gained him the love and reverence, the cooperation and goodwill of all his subjects and brought the Hindus and Muslims closer.

Not being fully satisfied with all these great social achievements, he tried to obliterate the communal differences in dress. His psychological insight told him that uniformity in appearance engendered a sense of belonging and a feeling of fraternity and harmony. As a step towards sartorial reform Akbar adopted a style of dress nearer to that of the Rajputs. The size of the turban was reduced and the *kulah* was detached from it. Earlier the Muslim *jama* had a frontal slit and was tied at the left side. Some women who had not fully overcome their initial shyness struck a compromise by wearing a *ghagra* instead of trousers beneath the skirt-slitted *jama* as they were apprehensive that the outlines of their limbs would show up through the frontal opening. Akbar ordered the *jama* to be made with round skirt without any slit and to be tied on the right side. Thus the new dress became a model of propriety and the fashion of the empire because the Emperor himself loved to wear his own innovated attire. In a reciprocal gesture some Rajputs also felt pride in imitating Iranian dresses. Each trying to become the other was an index of the flowering intimacy between the two communities.

Akbar also coined new and pleasing terms to be used in place of Persian names of various articles of dress : *jama* (coat) became *sarab gati* (that which covers the whole body); *izar* (trousers) was *yar pairahan* (companion of the coat); *nim tanacha* (jacket), *tanzeb* (adornment of the body); *burqua* (veil), *chitragupita* (face concealer); *kulah* (cap), *sis shobha* (adornment of the head); *shal* (shawl), *parmnaram* (that which is very soft); and *paiafzar* (shoes), *charan dharan* (that which covers the feet). Akbar also introduced the fashion of wearing the shawl doubled *(doshalla).*

After Akbar had ruled for four decades there was some change in the dress. Fig. 14 represents the outfit of a courtier at the end of 16th century. The main elements of the costume were the coat, the turban and the trousers. Over a full sleeved undergarment was worn the half-sleeved long coat with three hanging V-shaped points in front and three at the back. The coat commonly known as *jama* was fitted tightly up to the waist and then like a skirt reached below the knees. At the chest it had two overlapping lapels. First the left lapel was taken beneath the right one and tied with its inner side by the help

of ribbons already sewn in the garment. Then the right lapel was placed over the left and fastened by ribbons on the outer side of the left lapel. Numerous lapel flaps in a descending line were used on both sides of the chest. An Akbar type turban was worn. The waist was adorned by two bindings. A sash of gold brocade was displayed over a waistband of thin muslin. The motiff on the hanging ends of the sash was geometrical, squares and triangles, and not floral. Trousers with puckers were visible below the lower edge of the *jama*.

Towards the end of sixteenth century, the *jama* was made of a diaphanous cloth, so transparent as to make visible the trousers beneath. It was a garment for summer wear. Most Rajasthani men, both from upper and middle classes, wore almost the same style of dress as was prevalent in Mughal courts. The costume had three varieties of *jama*. The most common was the one reaching below the knee. The other had pointed ends, four around 1560 and six around 1580. Sometimes these points became very sharp and elongated, reaching almost to the ankles. There was a third type long enough to cover almost the whole of the trousers but it was not as popular as the first two. Sometimes the *jama* had full sleeves.

Fig. 14

Most women in northern India, however, were hesitant to copy an exotic dress and continued to prefer the half-sleeved bodice *(choli),* the ankle-length skirt *(ghagra)* and the head-scarf *(orhni).* The upper garment was fully embroidered at the neck and sleeves and the tasselled ends of the transparent *orhni* were decorated with pompoms. Pompom, an ornamental ball of wool or silk, was very much in fashion. They were found on the strings that tied armlets and bracelets, on shoes at the end of dangling tassels, and on the hair. But wives of noblemen and officials and high ranking ladies, bewitched with the magnetic influence and beauty of the Mughal style, adopted the Mughal *jama*

with flowing skirt, the tight trousers and the *orhni*. In Fig. 15 a palace maid wears a V-neck *jama* with 6 points hanging down from the hem of the skirt, light coloured trousers and an *orhni*. The ends of a decorated sash worn underneath the *jama* are visible.

Jahangir possessed a fine aesthetic sense and was himself a painter. He loved beautiful garments. His own regal apparel was not very different from that of his illustrious father. He would wear a coloured turban with a gold fringe on the top and a few feathers tucked in. A pearl string would go round the turban horizontally. His coat would be of brocaded silk. The shoes without the heels looked like slippers. The waistband would be floral in pattern and the sash would have geometric patterns. Jahangir loved rich silk and brocade. The diaphanous *jama* went out of fashion around 1610 and was not considered fit for public wear. Now it was worn only by entertainers. During his time the beard also became out of fashion not only because Jahangir himself followed the example of his father but also because he desired that his courtiers, should shave their chin. Nur Jahan was also abreast of the times. Sir Thomas Roe who happened to get a glimpse of the Empress was so awed with the extraordinary dress and jewels, that he burst into poetic effusion: "If there had been no other light, her diamonds and pearls would have sufficed to reveal her."

The dress of Shah Jahan's reign was not very different from that of Jahangir's except that the impress of elegance and luxury was more clearly perceptible. The turban of the Emperor (Fig. 16) had now a jewelled aigrette along with a row of other jewels hanging from the sides, besides the Jahangiri string of pearls. The turban now seemed to be divided into three portions, instead of the earlier two, formed by clever use of a gold cloth. The extreme right side of the chest was covered with a long row of overlapping flaps. The sash, the *kamarband* and the slippers were lavishly decorated. Indeed, the reign of Shah Jahan was marked by pomp and splendour as no grave external menace threatened his reign. But Bernier recorded that beneath the surface of outward prosperity there were

Fig. 15

grievous anomalies as the peasants and artisans were deprived of the necessaries of life. Against this backdrop the dress of the masses, the majority of the subjects who were neither courtiers nor soldiers nor merchants, could be easily imagined.

Aurangzeb was a pious Muslim and had the zeal of a puritan. He denounced music and painting and banned the wearing of silk at court. His puritanic instinct was against showy dresses. But it is of interest to note that he himself continued to dress magnificently like his royal ancestors. His turban was lavishly jewelled, his *jama* was elaborately patterned, and his ornaments consisted of pearl bracelets, armlets, precious necklaces, jewelled pendants, several rings and a beautiful dagger with a jade handle from which hung a pendant clustered with pearls. During his reign the skirt of the *jama* was widened and lengthened. The turban became voluminous. Aurangzeb revived the fashion of the beard but limited its size by ordering that no Mussalman should have a beard longer than the width of four fingers.

Fig. 16

Eighteenth century is the story of a disintegrated Mughal Empire moving steadily towards its final collapse and the rise and growth of British power. But revolts and treasons, intrigues and factions of the times did not have any immediate adverse effect on costume. The glamour of the Mughal attire was firmly transfixed in the Indian mind. Even the costumes of Shivaji, the great leader engaged in war with the Mughals approximated the Mughal style in its main features. Hindu officers in the service of the Sultan of Bijapur were dressed exactly like Muslim courtiers. Some changes in the standardised dress, however, did not escape notice. During the reign of Aurangzeb the *jama's* skirt was already becoming extravagantly wide. It was now increased to outlandish proportions with the waistline rising up to the chest and the long skirt brushing the ground. The turban became voluminous and the trousers baggy. After the costume reached its buriesque magnification, a reactionary trend started on the opposite direction to shorten the size and diminish the form.

As the century advanced, a gloom of

Fig. 17

political uncertainty and grim despondency took hold of the mind of the people. The decadent times urged the people towards a mock heroic display of their dresses. The loose and large robes of an earlier generation were not suitable to demonstrate the muscular build and athletic features of a robust body. The partially-pleated and open-chested *angarkha,* which had now replaced the Mughal *jama,* was shortened at the thorax. Its binding was made high enough to reveal the girth of the broad chest. The sleeves and trousers were made close-fitting so as to give a feel of the muscular power of the limbs. To make a mock show of martial spirit and valour, it became fashion to wear a dagger or sword in the girdle though one may not be able or willing to make best use of it at the time of real need.

In places far away from the centres of Rajput and Muslim courts the difference between Hindu and Muslim costumes was reduced to the minimum. Muslim women who had Hindu ancestry loathed to break away from their traditional dresses to which their families were accustomed for ages. In Kashmir, women of both communities dressed alike except that Hindus, especially Brahmin women, wore a girdle and a white headdress while the Muslims sported trousers and a red headdress. In Punjab the women whether Hindu or Muslim had a common style or trousers or skirt accompanied by a full sleeved long shirt. In Bengal, far away in the east, it was

Fig. 18

Fig. 19

difficult to differentiate women of the two communities by their daily costumes. In regions outside Muslim domination and influence, the people did not find any occasion or reason to change their ancestral outfit.

In the second half of the eighteenth century we find a *dupatta* entering the garmenture of male costume as is shown in Fig. 17. The young men wore a long *jama* tied with a tasselled *kamarband,* a knobbed turban with gold braiding, striped trousers without wrinkles, and a *dupatta* across the chest with the end hanging at the back. It is interesting to note that in some paintings of this period Rama, Krishna and other heroes of epics were shown dressed as Mughal courtiers. The painters were so enamoured with these costumes that any other dress would not have suited their fancy.

In the last quarter of the century in the regions of Rajasthan and the Punjab hills three types of female costumes could be distinctly discerned from the contemporary Rajasthani and Pahari paintings. These three sartorial typicalities

Fig. 20

indicate the Muslim influence, the Rajput influence and the future trend. One type is shown in Fig. 18. A long frock-like garment was worn with an opening in the front held by two clasps. The hem of the skirt moved up to provide a bodicelike effect to the upper portion of the dress. A shirt was worn under this and a veil accompanied it. Another type is represented in Fig. 19. The costume comprised a skirt, a bodice and a diaphanous veil which was allowed to flutter around.

In the third type shown in Fig. 20 the lady wears three standard articles of dress as in the second type indicated above,but with a difference. We find that a longer piece of *orhni* was used not only to cover the head but also a part of the back, the right thigh and the front. This is of great significance in the history of Indian costume. The *orhni* was never before brought to service in this manner for providing cover to the already covered parts below the waist. Charles Fabri points out that the birth of the sari took place around 1790. This would be evident from the costume worn at that time (Fig. 20). The *orhni* with its increased length covers the head, passes over the breast, comes down to find tucking holds at the waist, circles it round and ends at the front with graceful folds from the navel down to the ankle. It partially covers the *ghagra,* dims its splendour and nearly assigns it the petty position of a petticoat. It is an invasion of a lower garment by an upper garment. But something still remains. The *orhni* being of a very thin texture does not totally suppress the presence of the two garments covered by it. The *ghagra* has not yet been completely subdued and the *orhni* has not yet been effectively tucked in all round the waist. A small portion of the *ghagra* still remains visible on the left side and the back. Slowly within three decades the *orhni* turned into a sari to proclaim its complete conquest. By the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the new style covered the whole of northern India from Rajasthan to Bengal and the Punjab hills to Bombay.

Chapter V

Through the Ages : The British Period and After

In the beginning of the seventeenth century the English first set foot on Indian soil. A *firman* from Jahangir in 1613 permitting them to establish a factory at Surat gave them a foothold in this country, and within two centuries they were the rulers of most of India. The Englishmen brought with them their sartorial customs and habits. They were not, however, keen on imposing them on the native gentry. In fact they did not think it proper that their subjects should adopt their costumes and dress like themselves. This would tend to blur the difference between the rulers and the ruled. They, therefore, prescribed the Muslim costume for both Muslims and Hindus under their employment.

During Muslim rule the rulers used to feel happy and proud to see their Hindu subjects adopting Islamic dress. Even in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, Hindus in northern and central India wore Muslim costumes. The dress in the court of Delhi retained a show of luxury even in the declining days of the Mughal Empire. Men wore heavy coats richly laced with gold braiding on the shoulders, arms and sleeves (Fig. 21). The coat had a V-shaped front opening showing a plastron underneath. It had two side slits and a sash tied over it at the waist. The lower garment was a pair of loose but straight pyjamas and the headgear had a thickly rolled brim with a portuberance at the centre. A similar

Fig. 21

dress was worn by the common people, using cheaper cotton material. Muslim dress was popular also in other places. Even Raja Rammohun Roy adopted the Muslim dress though he came from an orthodox Hindu family.

The dresses in the south differed from the north. Abbe Dubois who lived for 30 years in close contact with the people of south India had given us valuable information about the dress of the people of that region in his famous book first published in 1817. "Their clothing", he wrote, "is of the most simple description. It is as nearly as possible just what it was in the earliest ages. Two pieces of cotton cloth without hem and stitch, one 10 or 12 feet long, the other 14 or 16 feet long, and 3 or 4 feet wide, are their only garments. With the first piece, they cover their shoulders, with the second they gird their loins. Of the latter, one end is passed between their thighs and is tucked behind into the portion which goes round their bodies while the other end forms a drapery in front, and hangs with a certain careless grace to their feet." Dubois recorded that formerly the Hindus went about with their heads bare but at the time of his writing most Hindus wore a turban which they had copied from the Mohammedans. About the use of Muslim costumes he observed, "Men who are in service with either Europeans or Mohammedans wear a long coat of fine muslin or calico, very full in the skirt, and made in a peculiar way. This also is a foreign fashion recently copied from the Mohammedans. Brahmins of Mohammedans may be distinguished from each other by the fact that the former fasten their coats on the left side, and the latter on the right. Both generally wear over this garment a belt made of some fine material and wound several times round the waist".

About woman's costume consisting of a simple piece of cotton cloth 9 to 12 metres long and more than one metre wide. Dubois wrote, "The women wind part of this cloth two or three times round their waist, and it forms a sort of narrow petticoat which falls to the feet in front; it does not come so far down behind, as one of the ends of the cloth is tucked in at the waist after passing between the legs, which are thus left bare as far as, or even above, the calf. The other end of the cloth covers the shoulders, head and chest. Thus the clothing for both sexes is made without seams or sewing an undeniable convenience, considering how often they have to bathe themselves and wash their garments." Dubois did not find the *purdah* system prevailing in the south as he observed that the women always went about with their faces uncovered. An additional item of dress, the bodice, had newly been introduced to the south, as Dubois observed, "This (bodice), I am told, is a modern innovation, and borrowed from the Mohammedans".

Among the traditional dresses dhoti and sari were in vogue in most parts of India. The pettticoat became an integral part of a women's dress. Very fine and expensive clothes for the aristocracy were manufactured in Bengal. It was a general observation that the higher the status of the man or woman, the thinner was his or her garment. A certain English woman who visited India during 1823-28 was quite surprised to meet women in a party draped in diaphanous saris, as she later wrote in her journal, "The dress was rather transparent, almost useless as a veil". A puritanic outcry against the 'too revealing' clothes was raised both in the press and on the public platform but to no effect. It was the sober influence and the Brahmo movement which tilted the sartorial preferences towards heavy clothes and opaque coverings.

Though Englishmen did not encourage the use of their dress by the people over whom they ruled, there were some Indians who took to the English costume and language since this promised a richer, fuller and prestigious future. Bishop Heber noticed this trend and in 1828 he recorded, "It is obvious even to a careless observer that in Bengal at least the wealthier natives are imitating the English in very many particulars in dress, buildings and domestic economy." At that time, even the Muslims who were not well disposed towards the English were keenly interested in learning English and adopting their ways and fashion.

The process of adopting the English costume went through three successive stages. By the middle of the nineteenth century some forward-looking young men of Bengal created a great stir by adopting the English frock-coat embroidered with gold, trousers and a high velvet cap. Charmed by western ways they started ostentatiously copying Englishmen. They spoke English all the time, quoted Shakespeare and Shelley and consumed tabooed food and drinks. They made a fetish of English clothes. But the novelty and enthusiasm of these young men, identified with what was known as 'Young Bengal', wore off by 1880 when a new wave of westernisation was caused by the educated men from the wealthy upper and middle classes. These men had received their general education mostly from Oxford or Cambridge or professional education from reputed universities of England and Scotland. They had joined the Indian Civil Service or had occupied the high government posts availabe to Indians or had established themselves as lawyers, doctors and professors. These men who had proceeded abroad across the seas found themselves on their return as outcastes in the eyes of the orthodox society and could only be admitted back after performing expiatory ceremonies. For some decades these men preferred to remain in thir own circle which went on increasing and extending as more and more young men went abroad and came back as 'the Anglicized elite'. Since they had money and were occupied in professions that commanded power and prestige they could afford to live in foreign style, specially in so far as dress was concerned. Englishmen arriving in india brought with them the latest European fashion and though it was much admired in India it was not always possible for the local gentry to cope up with each new change of style.

The *chapkan* and sash which earlier formed the costume of the respectable class was now used as livery by the footmen. Its former status was now taken by *achkan* or *sherwani* bottoned tightly from the neck to the waist from where it dropped loosely upto the knees. The trousers developed a new cut by becoming a little loose and straight instead of having a tight fit and wrinkles at the legs.

In the second phase, sartorial imitation to a laborious finesse lost its glamour after the first world war. Several were the causes, like the hot and humid climate of India, the traditional urge towards simplicity in dress, the disappearance of restrictions against sea voyagers and the unusual increase in the number of people who had visited foreign lands during the war and after. These circumstances slowly ushered in a third stage in which more Indians took over the English costume without adopting the English style of living.

The use of the foreign garment was adopted in place of the usual Muslim dress but was limited to work in offices and social intercourse with Englishmen. They did not, however, make painstaking copy of the English dress in every minute detail or keep note of the latest rage. Any dress resembling the Englishman's outfit and quite different from the traditional Indian garment was enough to claim respect. In the initial zeal of imitation it was natural to overdo the fashion. Thus the English coat gradually became inch by inch shorter till it almost reached above the hips and the trousers became more and more wide. This accentuated their distinctiveness as compared to the long Muslim coat and tight-fitting pyjamas. However, in the thirties the shortened coat and the capacious trousers were brought in line with the English models.

Though the people took to western dress outside their homes, most of them preferred the loose Indian costume in which they felt more relaxed and comfortable. Many Indian men put off their foreign clothes in a dressing room in the outer houses before entering the inner appartments dominated by womenfolk who never took to western dress.

It might be the presence of cleanshaved Englishmen which indirectly influenced the gradual disappearance of the beard. Earlier a hirsute face was considered a sign of manliness and was highly esteemed as symbol of a gallant race. Among royal personalities it was Shuga-ud-Daula, the Nawab of Oudh, who first ventured to appear without a beard which had been so proudly displayed by all his ancestors. This encouraged others to part with their beards and to set afoot a new fashion. Many had to face social criticism against such an effeminate gesture. But the foreign conquerors with hairless faces, who had proved their prowess in many a battle-field in India, were no effeminate men. This was sufficient argument to silence the pro-beard rattlers. However, despite the new times and fashions many elderly people continued to cherish their age-old dresses and beard.

Sometimes odd combinations resulted by mixing occidental clothes with oriental dresses. Examples like the full English dress topped with an Indian turban, the coat, shirt and tie worn over a dhoti, the long shirt flowing far behind the short coat over a pair of tight-fitting pyjamas and the *sherwani* accompanied by English trousers were regarded as aesthetically and culturally unacceptable by those who were fastidious.

With the beginning of the present century there appeared on the Indian political scene several factors that dampened the fervour for foreign clothes. The Swadeshi Movement involving the boycott of English cloth and of persons purchasing foreign articles was a sequel to the partition of Bengal in 1905. This boycott gradually became a part of a great national movement under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. The Mahatma himself wore only a loin-cloth, the dress of the large majority of Indians in the villages. The men who joined the movement donned a simple coarse *khadi* garb. And all the great leaders who were once brought up or educated in a westernised environment forsook their European attire and took to simple *khadi* clothes. The Gandhi cap became a badge for the freedom fighters. Pandit Motilal Nehru gave up his wardrobe of well-tailored suits and started wearing his dhoti, *kurta, sherwani* and pyjamas. His illustrious

son Jawaharlal Nehru, a disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, gave up his European clothes and wore a dhoti, a *kutra* and a waistcoat. The latter became very popular as 'Jawahar Jacket'. Later, Jawaharlal Nehru changed from dhoti to *churidar* pyjamas. In his formal dress he wore over the *churidar* pyjamas a *sherwani* with a red rose tucked in the buttonhole.

After Independence the people asserted their freedom, as in other spheres, in selecting their dresses and new styles. This was evident in metropolises and big cities, where in offices, colleges and in more exalted places, young men and women presented a motley sight. Some dresses were prescribed for official functions. *Sherwani* with *churidar* pyjamas was given a place of honour. The closed neck and high collared short coat came to replace the open collared coat and tie.

It may be mentioned here that the use of English dress was limited to a very small section of the population. A large proportion of Indians, living mostly in villages of different provinces, continued to use their own regional dresses, undisturbed by British influence. The following chapters give a brief narration of these regional styles.

It must go to the credit of the Indian women that allure, prestige and influence of the European dress could not tempt them to forsake their sartorial heritage. Except small girls in enlightened families who used to wear English frocks, and ladies of Anglo-Indian families who preferred English blouses and skirts, women in general refused to allow any European contribution to reach their wardrobe. The *salwar-kameez,* the *ghagra-choli* and the sari appeared to them more graceful than any foreign garment. Further, the idea of exposing their legs below the hem of the skirt or wearing stockings did not appeal to them.

Yet it was the woman and not the man who happened to be more influenced and more deeply indebted to Europe for her modernity in apparel and appearance. The most important aspect of modernity was the woman's release from the *purdah* system without the aid of any law. A century ago the introduction of English education for women lifted the *'purdah'* both from her eyes and from her mind. She could now see for herself, think for herself and make for own independent choice and decision. By the twenties and the thirties of the present century many British and American laides of various Christian missions came to India. Wives of British officials also make frequent visits to India. There were now more opportunities for Indian women to come in contact with foreign ladies and foreign lands.

Indian women came out of their cocoon of anonymity. They were now more widely travelled and more knowledgeable. They were no more hesitant to be in the limelight. Having the advantage of their own impaccable good taste, now they selected from the sartorial world things most suited to their person. Generally speaking, they ceased to be wholly dependent on menfolk for selection of their clothes. They were not always ready to accept anything they were offered to wear without applying their own aesthetic judgement.

In this sartorial search many styles were tried and abandoned. The picture of a shapeless blouse and sari somehow wrapped round the body faded into the past. Now the sari was draped more elegantly, accentuating graceful lines and concealing what was not wanted. It was worn with a subtle art which often baffled foreign ladies. The pleats at the waist which fell gracefully down the feet fascinated them. The spiral winding ground the bust and the free folded end of the drapery floating in artful ease behind the shoulder appeared like a swirl from an artist's brush. It is said that true art is concealment of art. Similarly, a true style is when one is unable to analyse the style and yet is very much moved by its elegance. Such is the art of wearing a sari which has rightfully occupied the place of a principal national costume of India.

The blouse or jumper worn over an inner bodice was an upper adjunct to the sari. As fashion would dictate, the sleeves would come down to the wrists or would disappear at the shoulder where a decorative style of a fan-shaped flounce or a dense frill would show up. The neck of the blouse was cut as low as propriety would permit and its lower edge was extended so that it could be tucked inside the sari or displayed over it as a stomacher. Some upper garments exhibited chic collars. Sometimes the blouse was made to resemble a *choli* of an earlier generation with tasselled cords to be tied behind, providing partial exposure of the back, or the sari was worn further down the waistline in the style of Didarganj *yakshini,* thus outdistancing the lower edge of a stunted blouse. Here, Indian style sharply deviates from western fashion where the shoulders, and not the stomach, fall within the zone of permissible exposure. This may be because neither age nor corpulance can very much distort the roundness of the shoulders. But decolletage is not the Indian fashion. In our ancient sculpture the waist-line kept a fair distance from the navel.

Another fashion of wearing the sari was observable when the British Government flooded the country with foreign cloth like French chiffons and crepe-de-chines, English taffetas and Japanese silks. This inroad by fine, feather-light draperies drove away the heavy Indian silks except from the homes of orthodox families. The new material helped to accentuate the curves of the body.

The garment which comes next in popularity is *salwar-kameez* worn along with a light scarf looped over the shoulders. Even the sari cannot compete with this sartorial ensemble for its multipurpose character, especially in the field of sports. Running, jumping, playing and excercises requiring vigorous movements are restricted in a sari. *Salwar* is the only bifurcated lower garment that matches the English trousers in its utility. Its psychological appeal to the Indian mind rests on the fact that assuring a complete freedom of movement to the body, the *salwar* maintaines the female decorum by keeping the legs covered all the time. Indian women have generally kept their legs covered from time immemorial. Educational institutions also preferred *salwar-kameez* a school uniform. This dress also came to the aid of teenagers who found themselves too grown up to flaunt a frock and yet not too old to be offered a sari by their mothers.

The tight pyjamas of the Mughal woman was considered too revealing and therefore the fashion dictated a medium width that would blur the outline of the legs and thighs. However, it started growing to varying limits at different places till it took a loose baggy shape with narrow openings at the legs. At this very time the dancing girls started a new fashion by wearing trousers with wider leg-openings. Slowly it became the craze of all classes of women and its width went on increasing till it got the shape of a *garara*. Again the trend was reversed and the 32 to 37 metres of *garara* of Lucknow decreased to 5.5 metres. The *salwar* also became less floppy and more body-fitting.

The *kameez* also went through several changes before it could reach its present form. Its length fluctuated. First it dropped down to the knees in the 'twenties and then rose up to look like an English frock in the 'thirties and again descended to the knees by the fifties. Another change in the *kameez* was brought about by designing it on the lines of the European frock. But not satisfied with this style, a new craze started decreasing its girth to make it cling to the body. In the late sixties the lower part of the *kameez* was so tightly worn round the hip-line that the wearer could hardly walk with ease except in mincing steps and it was risky to alight a bus or climb down a staircase. However, the *salwar-kameez* through all its sartorial vicissitudes adopted a style which bestowed a covered delicacy and spring-like smartness to youthful form while giving a look of freshness, slimness and poise.

Though women did not copy the European dress, their liberal attitude helped them to experiment with the regional dresses. The Punjabi women took to the sari and girls in Bengal tried to experiment with *salwar-kameez*. Women in the hilly tracts adopted the dresses of the plains. Sometimes the women of the north tried the modern version of Rajput *ghagra* for a change. The Deccan women started sporting the northern style of wearing a sari. The sari centered in Muslim homes where trousers were the traditional wear. Thus, rigid demarcations between dresses among different communities, classes and religious groups got somewhat obliterated through mutual exchange and imitation of various styles. Also, there was a growing accent on simplicity.

The old idea of displaying one's opulence by sartorial splendour gradually came to be regarded as vulgar. Leads of precious ornaments, heavy expensive textile meant to last for years, and elaborate brocading with gold and silver threads that once titillated the capricious ego were given up. Women now favoured simple materials, plain styles and designs and light ornaments which grew in popularity and prestige even in the circles of the elite, and were acclaimed as aesthetically far superior to their earlier counterparts.

Modern contribution in the realm of matching colours was of no less significance. In India as in all tropical countries there was an undying passion for displaying various splashes of colours in sartorial ensemble. A village fair or weekly *bazar* would bring out a parade of colours, all rattling, dazzling and symbolising the vigour of life. A green *dupatta* wold give company to a red *kameez* and a yellow *salwar,* or a pink sari would go with a multi-coloured *choli*. The modern woman was now introduced to the western idea of using light colours in matching tone. In a multicoloured ensemble family shades

of a basic colour were preferred. Even when a contrast was to be effected, the complementary rather than the contradictory colours were selected so as to provide a blending spectacle. Cinemas also filled the bill regarding the quest for novelty. The display of exotic sartorial invention by favourite actors and actresses was more apealing than new styles seen in a fashion parade or magazine. Their fumbling adoption did not last long, yet the silver screen remained a perennial source of inspiration for catching new ideas of fashion.

Chapter VI

Contemporary Scene I : Northern and Western Regions

In the previous chapters we saw the evolution of Indian costumes through the ages. The following chapters will deal with present-day costumes of India. It will be seen that they differ from region to region and are closely related to the geographical, linguistic and cultural back-grounds in which they have developed.

The modern times have brought many changes. School-going children even in villages wear school uniforms which generally consist of shirt and shorts or pants for the boys and frock or *kameez* and *salwar* for the girls. Young men and women generally prefer not to follow traditional styles. The practice of covering the head or using a headdress is almost out of fashion with the young except where religion prescribes it. Undergarments have become compulsory items of dress. The use of brassiers has reached even rural areas. Short drawers generally accompany the dhoti. For cold weather the coat has become a universal item of wear, even women in urban areas use it. In villages, shoes and sandals of modern make are now replacing the locally made footwear. Big cities may give the impression that trousers and bush-shirts or shirts are the usual dress of men. Officials and professional men like lawyers and doctors use western style of clothes. Women may be found sporting saris in the *salwar-kameez* region or wearing the latter combination within the traditional domain of the sari. Not only the traditional garments of long lineage but also the styles of their wear are either being discarded or modified by the new generation.

No doubt these are signs of social change. But regional dresses still have a tremendous hold on the people. When we take into account the vast popultion of a region the items of change constitute only a bare fringe of a colourful sartorial garden well nourished by tradition. The dresses described below project the proud image of a particular State or region, and make up the contemporary scene.

KASHMIR

Through successive periods of history the mode of dress in Kashmir bears the blend of many elements. The chief sartorial ensemble for men and women consists of a *pheran* and a *salwar* (Fig. 22). The *pheran* is the upper garment, a long woollen shirt like a full gown, which descends down to the ankles in loose folds when worn by the woman but does not go so low in the case of men. Characteristically loose on the body and at the sleeves, it has an open collar. It can be compared to the Greek tunic of the Doric period, and is said that its use, along with shawls and *chadars* might have been introduced in the country by the early Greek settlements in the north-west. Some

scholars have noted a striking resemblance between the costume of Kashmir and the open-necked loose sleeved gown and the headdress of the Tajiks and Uzbeks of Central Asia, indicating a common origin which might have been Greek. Over the *pheran* is occasionally worn a sleeveless jacket of embroidered velvet. The *salwar* is the lower garment. It is worn like trousers but it is a little baggy and slightly gathered near the ankles causing verticle folds. The Kashmiri *salwar* sometimes has beautifully embroidered borders at the ankles. A skull-cap with fine embroidery is worn as a head-dress. For a woman a scarf like an *orhni* completes her dress. She usually tucks her scarf into the cap. A bride, however, uses a full veil at her wedding along with the cap which is beautifully embroidered and adorned with lace.

Fig. 22

In the northernmost regions of Ladakh and Leh people still continue to wear the traditional dress peculiar to these regions. In the Doda district near the border of Himachal Pradesh, the dress does not resemble that worn in Kashmir velley, in spite of similar climatic conditions and cultural link. It has some similarity with the dress of the Chamba district. In the south, the dress of the Dogras in Jammu is greatly influenced by the sartorial ensemble of the State of Punjab. Here the traditional dress for men is *Kurta,* tight pyjamas (the latter is replaced by dhoti or *lungi* in summer) and turban or cap. For the women the dress comprises *suthan* (tight Dogri pyjamas), *kameez and dupatta.*

HIMACHAL PRADESH

The various areas in this region, isolated by topography and climate, have preserved their own sartorial culture.

Lahul and Spiti, the northernmost parts of the State bordering Tibet (China) are two different isolated mountain tracts. Lahuli men wear a long woollen Tibetan gown and woollen trousers. A full-sleeved cotton shirt is worn underneath, and a jacket worn over the gown is secured at the waist by a girdle. Women dress in a similar fashion except that the men's gown is

buttoned on the right while the women's gown has strings in front. A brown coloured Kulu cap is the common headgear. Unmarried girls and women of the Bodh tribe do not cover their heads. The women's gown, smoothly flowing down to the feet and embroidered with golden or silver laces round the neck and the lower edges, gives a look of poise and grace. A neatly folded waistband and a *shanil* or velvet jacket complete the ensemble.

The Spitian dress of men consists of fur-lined cap, gown of wool or of sheep or goat skin tied at the waist by a broad girdle, and woolen trousers tucked into tall boots with felt-tops reaching the knees. The woolen girdle serves many purposes. It keeps the stomach warm, prevents backaches, makes climbing easy, helps to carry load on the back and converts the upper part of the gown as a receptacle for carrying things while going on a journey. The women wear full-sleeved shirt, woollen frock-coat with colourful borders, striped silken girdle, loose black trousers and woollen shawl. The winter finds them wearing a picturesque high-domed cap lined with fur. Otherwise, Spitian girls love to go about bare-headed displaying their plaited hair interwoven with yak's hair, dangling down below the waist.

In the region of Kangra and Chamba dominated by the towering Dhauladhar, men wear shirt, coat, woollen pyjamas and white turban. Some use a white round cap having a flap which can be pulled down to cover the neck during cold weather. In these hilly regions the garments, except the shirt, are made of *patta* or *patti*—a locally manufactured coarse woolen sheet. Cotton trousers are slowly coming into use. The women wear shirt (about 1m. in length), having cuffs and collar, known as 'Bengali *kurta*' and woolen *suthan* (trousers) whose upper portion is loose and the lower portion is tight with puckers from the calf to the ankles. They put on *angi* (bodice) and *kachcha* as undergarments and *dupatta* as headdress. There is another headdress called *joji* which is more an adornment. It is a circular piece of cotton or richly embroidered silk (10 cm in diameter) attached to a silver chain which passes over the left ear. They wrap a woollen shawl *(chadroo)* round the body. In freezing winters *pattu*, a coarse woollen hand-spun blanket is wound round the waist more than once and a second *chadroo* is also used.

The Gaddis, a nomadic clan of shepherds are rather rigid as regards their traditional dress.Both men and women wear *chola* and *dora*. *Chola* is a multifold gown of white woollen cloth covering the body from neck to knee. *Dora* is a black woollen rope of great length wrapped tightly round the waist over the *chola*. The Gaddi women wear their *chola* down to their ankles. The *chola* requiring 9 metres of woollen cloth, is worn very loose with many folds. The length of the *dora* varies from 18m to 23m. the upper part of the *chola* above the wrapped *dora* is so baggy that it can be used for carrying anything, even a newly born lamb. The Gaddi women will always use this dress when they have to travel along with their flocks. At other times some Gaddi women also use the dress worn by other women of the region.

The Kinnaur region, lying under the shadow of Mount Kailash, gives us a glimpse of another sartorial variety. Men wear *chamu kurti (shirt)*, chhuba (long cloak), *chamu sutan* (slightly) loose or *churidar* woollen pyjamas, mostly of grey colour, *gachhang* and *thepang*. *Dhoru* is a blanket that is wound round the waist and then brought up to be

folded around the shoulders where both the ends of the *dhoru* are fastened by a large copper, brass or silver brooch called *digra.* It resembles a sari with the difference that the ends are knotted and the embroidered borders are displayed slightly towards the back. *Choli* is a full-sleeved blouse. *Chauli* is a shawl wrapped round the shoulders and its two ends are fastened together near the breast by means of a silver hook. Men also use *chauli* during winter. *Gachhang,* worn both by men and women, is a scarlet coloured woollen or cotton cloth about 5 to 8 metres long and a metre in breadth, folded round the waist. *Thepang,* a common headdress for both the sexes, is a woollen cap which is also known outside Kinnaur as *Kinauri* or *Bushahri* cap. The crown or the velvet band of the cap is usually blue, green or red. Flowers are tucked into the folded band on festive occasions.

The dress in the western uplands bordering Punjab is influenced by the sartorial style of the Punjab plains and the colder regions described above. Women wear *kurti* or long collared shirt, woollen or cotton *suthan (churidar* or plain trousers) or *ghagra,* waist-band and *dhathu* (head-scarf knotted at the back) as well as *kameez-salwar-orhni* combination. In some regions women wear the *orhni* in a typical style. First a *chak,* a head ornament, is pinned on the head. *Chak* is a hollow dome-shaped ornament tapering at the top. When the *orhni* is placed over the *chak,* it gives a graceful triangular lift to the cloth. The dress of the Kinnaur men include *suthan* or pyjamas, shirt or *kurta,* long coat, *chadar* and cap.

PUNJAB

From the snow-clad mountains we come down to the fertile plains of the Punjab. In this region, the men of Sikh community wear *kurta* and pyjamas or *tahmad.* They tie their beards in an impressive manner and top their heads by an imposing turban. Collared shirt is also used in place of *kurta.* In rural areas *tahmad* is more popular than pyjamas. Some people keep a sheet of cloth on their shoulders. In winter people use woollen shawl, *khes* or blanket, woollen jacket, coat or sweater. In urban areas the dress is diversified. Some people continue to use the dress worn in villages while others adopt urban fashions which include the *churidar sherwani* combination (Fig. 23) and European styles. *Churidar* is another version of trousers. It fits closely like a glove from the ankle to the knee. It is tailored in a special way by cutting the cloth in diagonal sections and stitching these pieces in a prescribed arrangement. The legs of the garment which are too long for the limbs of the wearer are drawn over the feet with some effort and adjusted in a manner that the surplus length forms a series of bracelet-like horizontal folds from the ankle to the knee. The upper portion of the garment remains loose. This type of *churidar* trousers were worn by Hindu and Muslim women of upper classes during the Mughal period. The *churidar* sartorially links up the Punjab with Rajasthan.

Tahmad, worn in place of pyjamas, is a short sheet or rectangular cloth (2.3 m by 4m). This garment is formed by two strips of cloth sewn together. It is wrapped around the waist like a *lungi* but with a difference. First the middle portion of its upper edge is placed at the back of the waist while its two upper corners are stretched in front. These two corners are then made to cross each other to form a knot at the navel before each end is tucked in at the waist, the right corner on the left and the left corner on the right.

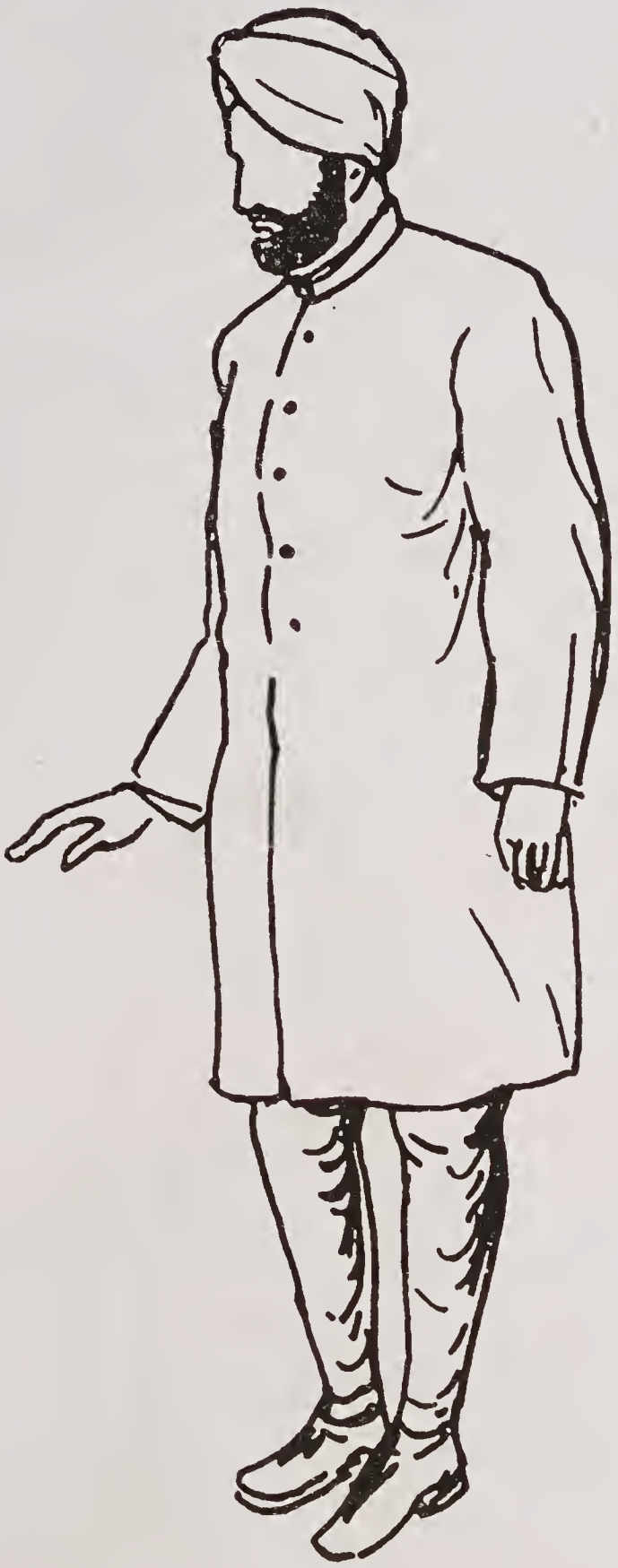


Fig. 23

Such tying helps to lift the lower front edge well above the ankle so as to allow free movement of the feet. A *lungi* is sometimes worn instead of a *tahmad.* A *kachcha* (short drawer), *langota* or *sutna* is generally worn under the *tahmad* which, in rural areas, may be put off when work has to be done in the field. For the Sikhs, the wearing of kachcha is prescribed by religion. Dhoti is not much in evidence in Punjab though some members of the trading community in cities and some Rajputs in the north wear it.

The turban is tied in several styles, some of which are indicative of the place a man hails from, his social position or cultural background. For instance, in the district of Amritsar the Majha people tie the turban in a quaintrope like fashion. They generally apply starch to their turbans and do not colour them. But the people belonging to Khemkaran leave one end of the turban hanging at the back. The turban is wound round the head several times first obliquely on one side and then reversely on the other in such a manner that the two parts diagonally intersect each other at the centre of the forehead. The remaining end of the turban is either let free at the nape of the neck or allowed to hang longer and loosely over the back or neatly tucked into the folds; the latter style is most common. The common man may arrange the folds loosely in an uneven manner, but those who are particular about their headgear will wrap the turban round their head covering part of the ears with such care and skill that the outer surface will look compressed, polished and smooth.

The female dress comprises *salwar, kameez* and *orhni* (Fig. 24). The Punjabi women generally wear a dressy *salwar* made of fine material like silk. Sometimes velvet or brocade is used. This garment is tailored in many styles, sometimes a little baggy and sometimes gathered near the ankles causing vertical folds. *Salwar* is made up of a pair of legs droped straight from the waist to the ankles and on the upper part attached by a gusset *(miani).* The lower edges are stitched to form a pleat at the ankles while the upper edge is turned over and hemmed to allow a wide seam *(nefa)* for slipping a cotton or silk string or cord *(izarband)* for tying at the

Fig. 24

waist. In the older style the circumference of the upper edge was so wide that it resulted in excessive gathers round the waist. A new style has emerged with the upper part of the *salwar* narrowed to neatly and closely fit the waist and abdomen. Among the modern styles *churidar-kameez-orhni* combination is also popular (Fig. 25).

The *kameez* is a long knee-length tunic with half sleeves or long sleeves tapering to the wrists. Sometimes the skirt of the *kameez* is flared below the waist. In the modern version it is shaped at the waist by providing vertical pleats on the sides so that it may be figure-fitting.

The scarf, variously known as *dupatta, orhni, chunni* or *chunari,* was formerly used as a veil to cover the head and screen the face from public view. The middle part of this long cloth rests on the head, the right end is looped across the breast and the left shoulder while the left end is allowed to hang freely. Old ladies in some

Fig. 25

regions, having a special liking for silk, keep a silken *dupatta* over the muslin *dupatta*. Thus they use a double head-wear.

In earlier times the skirt-like *ghagra,* the main garment of Rajasthan, was also considered an orthodox attire of Punjab. It was worn along with a *kurti* (a half-sleeved hip-length upper garment). It is not unusual to catch a glimpse of sari among the affluent classes who may wear it for a fashionable change.

HARYANA

The influence of Punjab on the dress worn in Haryana particularly in the border areas is perceptible. In the southern region, away from the border of Punjab, we find men wearing dhoti, *kurta* or shirt and turban. A cotton *chadar or khes* (blanket) is used as a wrapper especially in winter. The three predominant communities, Jat, Ahir and Rajput tie their turbans in their own respective styles. The women of these three communities show a marked difference in their dress. A Jat woman will wear a *ghagri* (skirt), a shirt and a printed *orhni.* The former bears resemblance to Rajasthani *ghagra* but its length does not drop below the calf, and among the colours red or black is generally favoured. The women's shirt is like that of a man's with collar and cuffs, and it could be short or very long. The fashion is changing and younger women prefer *salwar* and jumper. The Ahir woman will be recognised by her *lehnga* (similar to ghagri but coming down to the ankle), *angia* (blouse) and *orhni.* The *orhni* is broad enough to cover both the head and the abdomen. It is generally red or yellow with silver fringes. The dress of the Rajput woman is similar to that of the Ahir woman, but the *orhni* though silver fringed is generally white. Women of Brahmin and Aggarwal communities generally wear sari.

RAJASTHAN

Except for a few green areas and silvery lakes this region has a large expanse of rocky and sandy desert whose drab monotony is relieved by the bright and colourful costumes of its people. The traditional dress of menfolk consists of dhoti, *bandia-angarkha* and potia. *The dhoti is worn with a posterior tuck called* kachcha. The surplus left side portion of the dhoti is passed between the leg and tucked behind at the centre of the waist while the right side portion is pleated before tucking in at the navel. The *bandia-angarkha* is a sort of *bandi* (jacket) which closely fits the chest and then extends up to the waist in loose vertical gathers and is fastened with tapes. Its narrow sleeves, being longer than the arms, have to be adjusted at the wrists, resulting in bangle like gathers in the forearm. This traditional style is slowly giving place to a simpler form of *bandi* or a long shirt. *Patia,* a small piece of cloth about 3 metres in length is wrapped round the head. Some people also use a cloth sheet called *khes* which is thrown over the shoulders.

The Rajput gentry wear a pair of *churidar* pyjamas (instead of a dhoti), a *kurta* (in place of a *bandi*) and an *achkan* sometimes called *lamba-angarkha.* Jodhpur breeches, a combination of *churidar* pyjamas and riding breeches, were developed by the nobility in the eighties of the last century. This dress is accompanied by Jodhpur coat with closed but standing collar. This is an adaptation of the English coat. Similarly, the simple looking *potia* is replaced by a more dignified turban reminiscent of Rajput nobility. This headgear is made of a long piece of fine cloth about 16.5 to 23m in length and 23cm

in breadth and is known as *pag, pagra* or *pecha*. The five-coloured *picharanga-pagdi,* when worn slightly slanting, gives a dignified look. A scarf is also worn like a *kamarband* or is put round the neck with its ends hanging in front.

The sartorial ensemble of the Rajasthani women comprises three standard articles *ghagra, choli* and *orhni* (Fig. 26). *Ghagra* or *lehnga,* full of loose vertical pleats from the waist to the ankles, looking like a 'maxi' skirt, is worn slightly below the navel. It is narrow at the waist and wide at the lower end, providing a natural flare. In one variety, triangular pieces of different bright colours are stitched together to produce a *ghagra* of pleasing patterns. Some *ghagras* require 18 metres of material. On ceremonial occasions some women of upper classes use an ankle-length narrow piece of ornament or plain cloth tucked into the skirt below the navel. Its colour contrasts well with the *ghagra*. This apron-like long panel, called *phetia,* enhances the beauty of the *ghagra* and the dignity of the wearer. It also indicates that the spouse of the wearer is alive.

Fig. 26

A *choli* is worn to clothe the upper part of the body. It is a half-sleeved bodice or jacket. Mughal culture with its predilection for close-fitting dresses influenced its popularity. Sometimes a briefer edition of *choli* called *kanchali* is worn with the *ghagra*. It is an open-backed piece fastened at the back. There are many varieties of such breast-length bodices. In one variety two circular pieces, each made up of upper and lower segments, are joined along with two side pieces, two short sleeves and a back piece to form a bodice. The circular pieces are embroidered in floral design. The *choli* is slowly taking the shape of a blouse.

Orhni is the third item of a woman's dress. The middle portion covers the head, the end on the left is tucked in the waist and the other end after passing under the right armpit is tucked into the bodice or

into the *ghagra* at the waist on the left side. Sometimes both the ends are tucked into the bodice over the bosom. The *orhni* besides being known as *chunari* and *chunni* is also called *lahario*—one that ripples in the wind.

In Rajasthan the practice of covering the face was very much in vogue, and it was said that the length of cloth *(ghunghat)* pulled down from over the head to conceal the face measured the degree of a woman's sense of modesty. Traditional values have changed with time. The multi-purpose *orhni* is also used as a short sari. One end or *orhni*-like cloth of a greater length is pleated and tucked in at the navel over the *ghagra,* the remaining portion is taken up to cover the head and the upper part of the body (Fig. 20). Thus it is used almost like a sari. This full length cloth is called *sadi.* It has already been pointed out that the real sari developed from this style of wearing the *orhni.*

GUJARAT

Gujarat has mixed costumes as Kutch and Saurashtra have their own regional dresses. In Gujarat men mostly wear dhoti called *dhotiyu* (4m by 1.3m) having narrow coloured border running lengthwise at both the edges. In its style of wearing, the portion forming the posterior tuck *(kachchadi)* is taken from the right side instead from the left and the portion for the frontal pleats *(patli)* comes from the left side. The frontal pleats are not allowed to dangle loosely at the feet. The pleats are taken up and tucked in a second time over the already tucked bunch at the navel. The upper garment is a double-breasted waist-length jacket *(badana* or *badiyan)* with the upper flap fastening at the left side. Other traditional types of dresses like *angarkhu* (coat), *jamo* (long coat), *dupatto, pachedi* or *khes* (shoulder-cloth) are no longer in general use. In rural areas the dress for the lower part of the body consists of dhoti, *potdi* or *panchiyu* while *paheran* (shirt), *jabbho* (long coat) and *bandi* (jacket) are used for the upper part. The headgear is variously known as *paghadi* (preformed turban), *pheto* or *safo* (freshly folded turban). In the past turban was a very common headgear and the pattern of folding differed according to caste and religion. The Swadeshi movement brought the white cap made of *khaddar,* popularly known as Gandhi cap. This cap is still in vogue in Gujarat.

The women of the upper class wear sari (4.6 metres in length) which unlike Rajasthan fully covers the skirt which now serves as a petticoat. Normally, the petticoat used as an undergarment does not have any embroidery but the Gujarati petticoat has embellishments and decorative laces, perhaps reminiscent of its old use as *ghagra.* The style of wearing the sari is similar to that of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar but different from that of West Bengal and Orissa. To begin with, one end of the sari is tucked in the petticoat at the left waist, the remaining portion is taken round the back from the left and brought in front to form a few pleats *(patali)* which are tucked in near the navel. The remaining length is then lifted up to cover the back and the head after forming a crescent-shape curve over the left hip (Fig. 61). The remaining cloth is passed over the right soulder and brought again to the front wherer the left corner of the end is tucked in at the left waist. In this manner one can see the beautiful decorative border displayed at the front (Fig. 60). Along with sari, *choli* is used as an upper garment. The *choli,* however, has undergone a change and now fully covers the back and the front. The working class women wear sari and petticoat and sometimes *ghagra* along with the

open-backed *kanchali* with sleeves sometimes reaching beyond the elbow. Muslim women put on *kurta, salwar* and *dupatta.*

The regional difference is evident in the dress of the people of Kutch and Saurashtra. Here dhoti and sari are not much in evidence as in Gujarat. Though dhoti is generally worn by the upper classes, most men wear *churidar* type of lower garment or loose trousers *(chorno)* (Fig. 27). For the upper part *kediyu* or *bandi* is used. The rural people still put on the thickly folded *pheto* as headdress. The longsleeved jacket with cloth wound round the waist and falling below the knees has been discarded. Women wear either sari, blouse and petticoat or *ghagra (chaniyo), choli* and *orhni.* Women belonging to the agricultural classes put on ghagra, often embroidered with glass pieces, along with a similar embroidered *choli* or backfastening *kanchali.* The *ghagra* of Gujarat is not so elaborately pleated as is found in Rajasthan.

Fig. 27

UTTAR PRADESH AND BIHAR

There is some similarlity of dress in these two States and Madhya Pradesh. In fact, a kind of standardization in dress is taking place throughout northern India.

The common people wear dhoti with *kurta* or shirt, while a large number prefer pyjamas instead of dhoti. Of the two varieties, one that tapers below the knees *(churidar)* and the other that maintains the same breadth, the latter type is most common. *Lungi* is also worn, mostly by Muslims. The dhoti is worn with a *kachcha* (the posterior tuck). Unlike the Gujarat style, frontal pleats are formed out of the portion that comes from the right. In the eastern region the length of the pleats is generally allowed to dangle but in other regions the length is shortened by a second tucking in at the waist. The peasants and labourers in response to their working needs

do not pleat the right portion but after rolling it up they tie the roll round the waist with a knot. The *kurta,* looser than a shirt has wide cuffless sleeves and is a collarless white garment reaching up to the midthighs or knees. A kind of tight waistcoat, commonly known as Jawahar jacket is sometimes worn over a *kurta.* A *bandi* or *baniyan* (hosiery vest) is used as underwear. On formal occasions the elite put on an *achakan* or *sherwani* with *churidar* or wide pyjamas and a cap. Though turban is out of fashion in urban areas, a cap is sometimes sported. Fig. 28 depicts a style of dress comprising pyjamas, *kurta,* Jawahar jacket and Gandhi cap.

It is interesting to note that as we move from west to east the headdress becomes smaller and scantier. The voluminous *pagris* and *safas* of Rajasthan and Punjab change into more tight and compact turbans of Uttar Pradesh. And when we reach West Bengal we find that the headdress is completely out of fashion. In Uttar Pradesh and Bihar caps are more in evidence. There are caps of many forms, some are particular to a region or community while others are universal. There are round caps, folding caps formed like a boat *(kashtinuma),* caps with two lune-shape pieces sewn together, Gandhi caps, etc.

In the later days of Muslim rule when the glory of Delhi and Agra was in the wane, Lucknow became the seat of culture. Remnants of the old Avadh Court may still be seen in this region where older men of certain predominantly Muslim quarters wear *angarkha,* waistcoat (usually embroidered), wide pyjamas and cloth cap. The *angarkha* derived from the Mughal *jama,* the earliest form of coat known to India, has gone through many modifications. In the Uttar Pradesh variety this traditional long coat has a high waistline so that it fits the chest rather closely and then proceeds up to the knees like a skirt with gathers. Its extra long and tapering sleeves form circular folds on the arms. Tapes or strings are used to fasten it at the side. *Chapkans* and *achkans* are its derivatives.

Fig. 28

In the villages, the usual dress is dhoti, *kurta* or *bandi* and turban or Gandhi cap. Villagers generally use the *bandi* as the main upper garment. It is a close-fitting half-sleeved or sleeveless vest which is sometimes provided with pockets. This type of apparel was evolved from *bagalbandi,* a short close-fitting waistcoat with double flaps, the upper being tied at the left side by two pairs of tapes. Its sleeveless variety, known as *bandi, saluka* or *phatoi* became popular with the working class males and females, as it allowed free movement necessary for manual work. Now the *bandi* also does the duty of an undergarment when a *kurta* is worn over it. Sometimes the working classes in villages do not cover the upper part of their body. They use an *angocha* or *gamcha* (scarf or local towel) which they carry over the sholder or use a *kamarband* when at work. They may also wrap it round the head as a protection from the sun.

The sari with a blouse or *choli* is the usual dress of the women whether Hindu or Muslim. Muslim women sometimes also wear *churidar* pyjamas and *kurta* with *dupatta.* Young Muslim girls sometimes wear *kurta* with *garara,* a kind of pyjamas with wide legs with flounces. There are two kinds of sari in vogue. One is the normal sari, mostly coloured, with lengthwise and breadthwise decorative borders. It has the standard length of five metres.The other variety, mostly white, is of a shorter length with thin lengthwise borders. It does not have the breadthwise decorative border. To differentiate between the two, the first type is called sari and the other is called dhoti (the usual name for the male lower garment). In this region there are two different styles of wearing the sari. The traditional style is the same as is found in Gujarat where the *pallu* (the upper free end of sari) comes down from the right shoulder and its decorative crosswise border is displayed in front (Fig 60). In the modern style the wrap is reversed, the *pallu* is flung behind over the left shoulder so that the showy border is spread at the back (Fig. 59). The pleats of the sari are called *chunan,* the tucked in portion is *kochi* (derived from the word *kochna* which means tucking), the portion that rests on the shoulder is *kandhela* and that which covers the head and serves as a veil is *ghunghat.* Orthodox women of the upper classes wear a *chadar* over the dress when going out. This provides a second cover to the head, back and shoulders. *Salwar* and *kameez* are also worn, mostly by women from Punjab.

Another female sartorial combination, *lehnga-choli-orhni* is worn in many places, mostly among women of the rural classes. Here the *ghagra* is usually known by the name of *lehnga.* The use of *lehnga* decreases towards the east as the distance from Rajasthan increases. Among the upper classes *lehnga* is not at all common and its use is restricted to ceremonial occasions. It is said that in the last century this garment was universally worn by women of all classes.

The northernmost part of Uttar Pradesh is fringed by the Himalayas. The dress of this region, conditioned by climate and altitude, has some similarity with that worn in the neighbouring hilly region of Himachal Pradesh.

MADHYA PRADESH

Situated in the central region of India, surrounded by seven States, Madhya Pradesh is a melting pot of many strands of Indian culture. Though sartorially it is more affiliated

to the two northern States mentioned above it has also been influenced by other neighbouring States particularly, Rajasthan and Maharashtra. More than 20 per cent of the population of this State is tribal. The tribal influence is evident especially in the eastern part of the State.

Dress in the major part of Madhya Pradesh is similar to that of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. Men wear dhoti, *bandi, kurta* and turban. In the western part of the region from Gwalior to Indore and in the south, women wear *lehnga, choli* or *kanchali* and *lugda (orhni)* besides the sari and *choli* ensemble. But women of Maharashtrian community wear 7.3m long sari in the Maharashtrian style with a short *kachcha* which is partly concealed as the upper end of the sari is draped round the back.

In the eastern part of the (then) State the people of Chattisgarh region have now become more conscious of their dress and cover their body more than ever before. For instance, men of the Oraon tribe wear a piece of cloth round the waist measuring 4.6m in length and 36cm in breadth. Their women now wear a long sari, but the actual portion round the waist is small, making it very inconvenient as they have to sit placing their knees on the ground. The unusually long portion of the sari saved for the upper part of the body is used for wraping and tying their small babies while they work. The christians among them are better dressed and use a blouse known as *zula*.

Chapter VII

Contemporary Scene II : Eastern Region

BENGAL AND ORISSA

There is some marked divergence discernible between the costumes of Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. Headdress completely disappears, pyjamas are not the customary dress, *lehnga-choli-orhni* combination is never found among the Bengalis and sari is worn in a different style.

The common male dress is dhoti and *panjabi (kurta).* The dhoti which is here called *dhooti* is worn round the waist in the style of northern India with pleats in front called *koncha* and rear pleats called *kacha* or *malkoncha.* The *koncha* formed from the surplus portion coming over from the right is generally kept dangling in front as it is not customary to draw up the lower ends of hanging pleats. For the sake of convenience and free movement many people shorten its length by a second tucking in. In Orissa, the style is the same and the dangling pleats, called *phera* in Oriya, are similarly treated so that the lower ends fall a foot lower from the waist. No undergarment was previously worn with a dhoti but town-bred men nowadays usually use underwear.

Fig. 29

Panjabi is the Bengali name for *kurta* which was once considered an article of Punjabi dress. A collarless and cuffless, it is worn over a *ganji* (a hosiery vest) which is slowly replacing *fotua* or *bandi,* an undergarment. Another article of dress is the scarf *(uttorio)* which is neatly folded lengthwise and placed on the left shoulder. The *uttorio* along with *punjabi* and *dhooti* forms complete formal dress (Fig. 29).

No headdress is used. In winter, *chadar* is used to swathe the upper part of the body.

The present style of dress should not give the impression that Bengal was neither accustomed to the use of pyjamas nor acquainted with Mughal attire. In fact the old traditional dress of officialdom consisted of a pair of pyjamas and a sort of tunic over which was donned a *choga*-type long coat or a long *angarkha* with an opening in the right of the chest. A turban with a thick broad brim round the head, known as *shamla,* or a headgear with a tubular ring encircling it accompanied this dress. But these dresses have now completely disappeared.

Women commonly wear sari of about 5m (5.5 yds) in length. The modern trend is towards a longer length of 5.5m. After one wrap round the waist, the sari is drawn up from the right hip over the bosom and the left shoulder and then taken up to cover the head from where the remaining portion is allowed to descend on the right shoulder. In the traditional style one corner of the free end *(anchal)* is passed under the right arm and thworn on the left shoulder (Fig. 62). In this style the sari presents a loop-like form with curvilinear gathers over the right side and the front. In the modern style the sari is draped more close to the body and the remaining portion is gathered up neatly in pleats and placed on the left shoulder (Fig. 59). The free end *(anchal)* is allowed to fall at the back displaying the decorative cross-borders. Sari is commonly provided with beautiful broad borders called *parh* in Bengali and *dhardia* in Oriya. In Bengal, unlike in Uttar Pradesh, the word dhoti is never used for a sari whatever be its type. In urban areas women wear blouse over a breast-garment. In villages the latter item of dress is not common and some rural women use only sari, draping the upper part so artfully that they do not feel need of a blouse.

SIKKIM

Spread below Khangchendzonga, earth's third highest mountain, lies Sikkim—a mountainous State bounded by Tibet in the north, Bhutan in the east, Nepal in the west and Bengal in the south. Sikkim, the 22nd Indian State, consists of three broad ethnic groups—the Nepalese, the Bhutias and the Lepchas.

The traditional Nepalese dress for men consists of a full sleeved shirt *(daura)* fastened with threads fixed at different places, a pair of tight fitting pyjamas *(suruwal),* a waistcoat *(ash-kot)* and a cap with a slanting top *(dhaka-topi).* Sometimes a twelve cubit long cloth *(patuka)* is wrapped round the waist like a belt and the Nepalese traditional weapon *(khukuri)* is tucked into it. The Nepalese women wear a full sleeved blouse *(chaubandhi choli)* fastened with the help of four threads and a sari *(fariya)* the free end of which is tucked in at the waist instead of being taken over the upper part of the body (Fig. 30a). For an additional covering of the upper part of the body, a cloth called *hembari* is wrapped over the *choli* and is passed under the arms.

The traditional dress of Bhutia men is a full-sleeved dress *(fo-kho),* with brocaded patterns, worn from shoulder to shin and held fast with a sash *(kerak).* A full sleeved shirt with collar calld *yentatsi* is worn underneath the *kho.* A waistcoat *(jaja),* a cap with a mount of tiny coral knitted together in the middle *(thurishambu)* and handsewn velvet and leather shoes *(shotsi)* complete the Bhutia dress. The Bhutia

Fig. 30 (a) (b) (c)

women wear a sleeve less brocaded outer garment *(mo-kho)* flowing down to the feet, a woollen apron with multicoloured stripes and brocade work *(pangden)* and a silk sash *(kerak)* around the waist (Fig. 30b). A silken full-sleeved *blouse (hanju)* is worn underneath the kho. Other articles of dress consist of a dome-like fur cap with four flaps spreading out *(tsering kengyap shambu)* and handsewn velvet and leather shoes *(sampo).*

The traditional outer garment of Lepcha men is *thokro,* a cotton sheet of multicoloured stripes. It is wrapped around the body in such a manner that it fully covers the front from

the right shoulder down to the knees. It then passes under the left arm, covers the back and is joined with the upper edge of the front portion and held in position with a pin at the right shoulder. A sash is tied round the waist. Underneath *thokro,* the outer garment, are worn a white shirt *(togo)* and a pair of loose cotton pyjamas *(gyodo)* reaching below the knees. *Chambu-thuri* (a woollen cap sometimes with a red pompom in the middle), *tangyip* (a cotton bag slung from the right shoulder and hanging on the left side), and *tukmok* (a Lepcha sword) are the other articles which complete the sartorial ensemble. The traditional dress of the Lepcha women is *dumbon,* a sari like wear which covers the body from shoulder to ankle and is kept in place with pins at the shoulders (Fig. 30c). A sash is worn round the waist. A long sleeved blouse *(togo)* is worn underneath the *dumbon.* The sleeves are generally kept folded below the elbows. The head is covered by a square scarf called *gorey* whis is knotted at the back of the head.

ASSAM

The common attire of Assamese men is dhoti and *kurta* or shirt. Dhoti is worn with a *lengti* (posterior tuck) and the style of wear is similar to that of West Bengal. A big shawl, coat or waistcoat is also used. In rural areas the dhoti reaches just over or below the knees. During summer and rainy seasons villagers use no upper garment, but a *gamosa* (Assamese towel) is thrown over the left shoulder or tied round the waist or head according to fancy.

Fig. 31

The traditional dress of Assamese women is *mekhla,* blouse and *chadar* (Fig. 31). *Mekhla** is a straight cut skirt worn around the waist and reaching the ankles. It is made out of a rectangular piece of cloth (2.7m by 0.9m) of which the two vertical free ends are stitched so that it can be worn like a *lungi.* The lower half of the *mekhla* is sometimes richly embroidered. Mekhla is worn over a petticoat. Blouse is the upper garment. *Chadar* (another length of cloth), sometimes embroidered, is wrapped around the upper part of

---

** In other parts of India the word mekhla signifies a waist-ornaments.*

the body like a shawl. The popular ensemble is silk *mekhla,* blouse, and a cotton *chadar* all in matching colours. After marriage another wrapper is used which is known as *riha,* a four-yard long scarf with tasselled ends. This is wrapped around the waist to cover the midriff. Elderly women in rural areas use the *mekhla* in the old style in which it is tied high above to cover their breasts. Thus the lower end of the garment does not extend beyond the knee. In this style the blouse is not required. The *chadar* is simply placed over the head. In regions bordering West Bengal and in towns the sari exists side by side with the *mekhla*-blouse-*chadar* ensemble.

Tribals of Assam live mostly in the hilly tracts and adjoining plains. Mikirs, one of the major tribes, have their home in Mikir and North Cachar Hills of Assam and in neighbouring States. Their dress resembles those of the Khasis. The men put on a piece of cloth known as *rikong* round their waist and wear turban *(poho).* They wear a long waistcoat *(choi)* and use a warm wrapper during the cold season. Women wear a petticoat *(peni)* which is fastened by an ornamental girdle of old silver coins. The upper part of the body is covered by a cloth known as *pekok,* of which the upper edge is passed under the armpits and drawn tight over the bosom.

AROUND ASSAM

The plains of Assam are fringed by densely forested mountainous regions consisting of the Union Territory of Arunachal Pradesh on the north, the States bordering the southern elongated portion, namely Meghalaya and Tripura to the west and Nagaland and Manipur to the east, and the Union Territory of Mizoram at the southern tip. The entire hilly region is the home of multifarious tribes who seem heterogeneous in terms of language, culture, customs, tribal laws and social organisation. In spite of this difficulty it is possible to differentiate the numerous groups into the Nagas, the non-Naga tribes and those who have settled down as cultivators. Nearly 80 tribes inhabit the region but each tribe is not necessarily restricted to a particular State or Territory. The dress of each tribe is colourful and unique. Most of the clothes are woven in traditional looms by tribal women who are generally skilled weavers. Mill clothes are used mostly by men. Women are very fond of fragrant flowers and leaves, which grace them as natural ornaments. The traditional costumes of some of the important tribes are described under each region. Owing to several factors like modern education, advent of Christianity and outside contacts, radical change on dress is perceptible amongst young people in several regions where trousers and shirt and modernised skirt and blouse are coming into vogue.

MEGHALAYA

A mountainous range that stretches from west to east comprising Garo, Khasi and Jaintia Hills, eighty per cent of the population of the State is tribal. The Garo, Khasi and Pnar (Jaintia) are the dominant groups. The Khasi men wear shirt, pants, coat, vest and underwear, all tailored from mill fabrics. The region had early contact with Christian missionaries in the middle of the nineteenth century. A Khasi works in the field in pants or shorts and shirt. He wraps a thick woollen cloth in winter, and for headgear, the elderly men wind a cloth round the head while the younger people wear a woollen cap.

The women first wear a chemise (undervest) before putting on a frock or blouse. The traditional dress is worn over these western garments. The traditional dress includes

jainsem, tapmohkhlieh and *jaincup. Jainsem* is a colourful silk cloth (3.7m to 4.6m by 0.90m) with beautifully designed borders. The folded middle part of the cloth rests like a bag at the back and the two free ends passing below the left and right arms are drawn up cross-wise to be tied over the right and the left shoulders respectively. *Tapmohkhlieh,* a woollen headscarf, is placed over the head and its two corners are pulled below the chin where they cross each other before being tied at the back. *Jaincup* (a woollen cloth 1.8m by 1.4m), is placed to cover the back while its two upper corners are tied on the chest. During work, *jainkyrshah* (a piece of cotton cloth) is worn instead of the silken *jainsem.* Two corners of the upper end of *jainkyrshah* are tied together at the right shoulder, and the middle part of the upper and passes through the left side under the left arm around the body. The lower end hangs closely around the body up to the ankles.

There is not much to distinguish between the dresses of Pnars (Jaintias) and Khasis. The Pnar women in the old traditional style used to tie the end of a piece of cloth round the shoulder before wrapping it tightly round the upper part of the body. This article of dress was called *shah-kpoh.* The lower part of the body was wrapped by another piece of cloth which was tied at the waist by a third piece of cloth. Over this, they wore *ka-kyrshah,* a rectangular piece of cloth, sometimes having decorated borders on all the four edges. *Ka-kyrshah* is still worn in the manner *jainkyrshah* is worn by the Khasis. It is placed lengthwise vertically over the body with the middle of the upper end resting under the left arm and its two corners tied at the right shoulder. The lower end of the cloth hangs loosely up to the ankles. Thus, *ka-kyrshah* completely covers the front, the back and the right side, while its two lengthwise edges come close together on the right side, the open edges facilitate easy movement. The old traditional dress of the Pnar women has been replaced by the dress of the Khasi women, as described above. The Pnar men also dress in the Khasi manner. The Garos do not elaborately dress like the Khasis. The Garo men have adopted shirt, trousers and coat. The Garo women wear a handloom cloth called *dakmonda* along with a sari, blouse and *mekhla.*

TRIPURA

The State has no mountain proper but the land is uneven because of low hills. Bengalis comprising both Hindus and Muslims constitute the major community. They follow the same tradition in dress as prevalent in West Bengal. Among the nineteen tribes, Tripuras constitute the most predominant section. Their men generally follow the dress of Bengalis though some have adopted modern garments. Tripura women wear a scarf that reaches down to the knees and use a small piece of cloth called *risha (ri*-cloth, *sha*-small) as their breast garment. Other tribes like Reangs, Jamatias, Chakmas and Kolis follow nearly the same pattern of dress. There is a custom among the scantily clad Kukis to enlarge the holes in their ear-lobes. Bigger holes are considered a sign of beauty.

MIZORAM

The Mizo hills are inhabited by a group of tribes including Lushais, Hmars, Pawis Lakhers, Paihtes, and Raltes. They are generally known as Mizos, though Mizo is a generic term meaning a highlander. Among men, western dress is becoming a fashion

and they wear a shirt, a pair of trousers or shorts and a coat. On special occasions or when attending church service a complete suit is used. While working in the field, men sometimes wear over their trousers an apron-like rectangular piece of cloth called *puan*. Women universally use a skirt and a blouse or a frock. The *puan* is always worn over the skirt or frock and is locally made. Sometimes a shawl is placed over the shoulders. Hmar men wear shirt, trousers and coat while Hmar women wear *tharlaizawn*, wrapped round the waist, along with blouse and shawl.

MANIPUR

The dress of Manipur men in the valley is similar to that of Bengalis. The main garment of Manipur women consists of a sheet of cloth called *phanek*. Elderly women fold it high up round the body so as to cover the breast and pass it under the armpits. The upper end is tucked in at the side of the body. It has now become more common to wrap it round the waist like a skirt reaching the ankles. Besides a blouse a white *chadar* is used to cover the head. The *phanek* has either a uniform colour or stripes of black, white, red or blue running across it. It may also have geometrical patterns embroidered on its borders. Muslim women wear shirt.

The hills are inhabited by numerous tribes. The dress of the tribes is similar to those of people in neighbouring hill areas. Tangkhul men in the West of Imphal knot a cloth around the waist having red and black stripes with tiny white and green patterns. In cold weather they put on a shawl of red and black stripes. Tangkhul women wear knee-length skirt and blouse. The two-inch stripes on the skirt are either red and white or black and white.

Men of Mao Naga tribe in the north use a short black cotton kilt ornamented by three or four rows of cowries and a cotton rug thrown over the shoulders. The women wear *mekhla* of coloured horizontal stripes and hang round the neck a square cloth of blue colour with red border covering the breast and descending to the knees. Men of the Kabui tribe in the east of Imphal use shirt and *khudleis,* the latter being narrower and shorter than a dhoti. Dhoti and trousers are also worn. Kabui women wear blouse and *pheisoi* (1.8m by 1.2m). Girls and young women wear *pheisoi* round the waist while elderly women tie it above the breast. A *chadar* completes the sartorial ensemble.

NAGALAND

Nagaland, India's eastern frontier State has sixteen Naga tribes and four non-Naga tribes according to the 1971 census. In order to population the major Naga tribes are Ao, Konyak, Sema, Chakhesang, Angami, Lotha, Sangtan, Phom and Chang.

In the district of Kohima, situated in the south of the State, the traditional dress patterns among the different tribes like Angami, Chakhesang, Zeliangroung and Rengma are almost the same though threre are variations in the mode of wearing the dresses. A knee-length kilt of light blue or black colour is the typical dress of men. Men of status wear kilt decorated with two or three lines of cowries striped along its length and hemmed on the two borders. The cowries are rubbed on stone before being embroidered so that they may stick well. They are always sewn by the man who wears them on the kilt, and never by his wife or anybody else. The kilt is fastened with a belt. A shawl or

chadar is worn outside a typical jacket though the latter is not a compulsory wear. The most prominent item of Naga dress is the shawl or *chadar.* It is different for every tribe. A warrior's shawl is different from that of an ordinary man. Red and yellow or green bands on black cloth is the common pattern among the Angamis. In the past a tribe could be distinguished by the pattern on the shawl. But now much borrowing of designs and unconventional patterns have blurred the distinctions. Sometimes scarves or shawls of mixed colours are worn broadly across the chest, keeping the arms bare. Some tribes wear a long apron (instead of a shawl) which is suspended from the collarbone and tied at the waist, forming a kilt below.

The short *mekhla* of the women, a sheet of black cloth rolled along the waist, comes down to the knees or reaches down to cover the legs. The colours of the stripes and their arrangement vary from tribe to tribe. A bodice covers the breast. Over this dress is worn an apron which is either fastened on both sides of the collarbone or fixed along one side by one end and the other is allowed to hang below an armpit. They also wear a shawl generally suspended from one of the shoulders. The dress of a Naga couple appears at Fig. 32.

In the district of Wokha situated in the west, the traditional dress of Lotha men is a white or blue loin-cloth with red bands over it. Lotha women wear black short *mekhla* decorated with bands reaching down to the knees. A black cloth covers the upper part of the body. The Ao tribe in the west wear a similar dress. *Mekhlas* with small red squares of wool woven on the cloth are quite common among Ao women. Konyak men in the north use a loin cloth while their women wear a very short *mehkla.* In the past the menfolk used to crop their hair in a round way but now they prefer the modern style. The women of all the tribes keep long hair and tie it in a knot at the back.

The traditional ceremonial dress of every tribe is quite complicated. They adorn themselves with various things on different parts of the body. In the south, men of Angami, Chakhesang and allied tribes wear headgear fitted with feathers of hornbill which provides a convex canopy with black band on white base. But the most common headgear is fitted with bamboo spikes with white cotton on the tips arranged in a semi-circle. Chakhesang tribe sometimes wear conical helmet whose topmost fringes are decorated with small feathers coloured red. Two broad pieces of colourful and decorated scarves are placed crosswise on the breast. Sometimes necklaces are of dyed bone, with conchshell pendants and bamboo decorations. The waist may have a belt with a tail of hair dangling behind or may be girted with rings of cowries. Ivory armlets or cane gauntlets adorned with cowries are used. Earrings are made of brass, cane, bone or bear's tusk. They wear coloured boots of plaited cane strips. Above the boot and below the knee there is a band of legging of wire-like creeper coloured black.

There is not much difference in the traditional coronets that Lothas and Aos of the West and Semas of the centre. The cane that forms the circle of the coronet and holds the hornbill feathers upright is covered by the furs obtained from bear skin. Two scarves are hung down the chest cross-wise and an apron decorated with cowries is used for

Fig. 32

dancing. Ivory armlets or its imitations of wood and necklaces made of wild bear's tusks, hemmed with red cane furnished with big red beads as pendants are much favoured.

In the north Konyaks and Phoms wear a band of cane of three or four strips at the waist. Their traditional headgear which looks like a crown is made of coloured plaited cane strips having two tusks of wild boar on either side. Two scarves cross-wise adorn their breast. They use coloured plaited cane strips as earrings. They sometimes use brass necklaces with replica of human heads. Chang men in the east use, besides other ornaments, a big gong, about 25 cm, that hangs from the waist in front. Fig. 33 shows a Chang warrior.

Women of different tribes have various ornaments. They adorn themselves with brass bangles, earrings, armlets and necklaces. Multi-stringed necklaces are generally made of cornelian beads and conchshells.

It is of interest that though traditional dresses are still loved by the rural section, they are being replaced or supplemented in many places by other attires. Educated men generally wear trousers, shirts, coat, tie and modern footwear. Among women, modernised skirt, blouse, sari, *salwar* and *kameez* are becoming as popular as the ankle-length *mekhla* of latest design. Traditional ornaments and decorations are not used with modern dresses.

ARUNACHAL

The State has a rich array of 25 major tribal groups which can be further subdivided into 80 sub-groups, each having a dialect of its own. The men of Wancho

Fig. 33

tribe wear a loin-cloth, coloured shoulder band and a wrapper, while the women use a waist-cloth and a shawl. Exposure of the body over the waist is common. Both men and women wear headdress made of cane slips decorated with beads and stones. The Singpho men have a *lungi* with a checkered pattern, a tight-fitting jacket and a white turban and the women a black jacket, an embroidered scarf, a waistband and a turban. In Lohit district, the Mishmi men wear a waist-cloth with embroidered flap in front, a sleeveless coat of maroon colour and a woven cane headdress. The women wear a long black skirt with coloured stripes, an embroidered bodice, a colourful waistband and a shawl. The dress of the Khampti tribe is almost similar to that of Singphos.

Fig. 34

Tribes constitute 92 per cent of the total population of Subansiri district. Nishis, earlier called Daflas, are numerically the most prominent and powerful tribe of Subansiri. The Nishi men wear a coarse loin-cloth and a blanket woven from the fibres of a wild plant (Fig. 34). The blanket is held in front of the body reaching half-way to the thighs, the two ends are passed below the armpits and then received crosswise over the shoulders and fastened together in front over the chest with an iron or bamboo pin. Numerous strings of beads and brass chains are displayed on the chest and bamboo plugs or earrings decorate the ears. On the left wrist there is a coil of hair strings and on the right a number of bangles. A number of cane rings are worn round the waist and a pair of cane garters below the knees. The forehead is adorned by a bun of plaited hair through which a foot-long one or two brass skewers are passed horizontally. They also wear a cane helmet surmounted by feathers and a crest of hornbill beak dyed in scarlet colour.

The costume of Nishi women consists of a skirt of woven fibre. Sometimes it has

striped designs and a green border. Like the men, they also wear a blanket which is tied at the waist with a ribbon. Its lower edge reaches up to the knees and the upper part is tucked over the right shoulder. The women love to girdle their waist with a belt of cane, a chain of metal rings and a chain with a number of flat square metals. For anklets they use a pair of tight-fitting cane garters.

Chapter VIII

Contemporary Scene III : Southern Region

MAHARASHTRA

The principal lower garment among men is dhoti called *dhotar*. Among most classes except the Marathas the standard mode of wearing is the same as found in Bengal with smoothed pleats and clean tucking in. The only difference is that the lower ends of the front pleats *(nirya)* are not allowed to dangle. They are taken up and tucked over the already tucked bunch. This presents a curvilinear and triangularised front between the legs, and the thin border appears to descent in a zig-zag fashion. The hind pleats *(kasa)* are so neatly tucked that no loose ends are allowed to flap about. A loose or flapping hind pleat is not appreciated. The Marathas wear the dhoti in the form of a bifurcated garment. It clings to the feet like tapering pyjamas. Along with the dhoti, a well-to-do person wears a *sadra* (half-sleeved shirt) or *pairan* over *ganjiphrak* (hosiery vest). While indoors, the *ganjiphrak* alone serves as the upper garment. The outdoor ensemble would include a dhoti of finer count, shirt, a *bandi,* a coat and a cap. A popular combination found among the young men is *lengha* (pyjamas) and *kurta*. (In Uttar Pradesh *lengha* is the word used for *ghagra*).

Old fashioned elderly persons, in additon to the traditional dress, may wear a loosely rolled head-scarf called *pheta* or *rumal,* and a shoulder-cloth called *uparni*. The Maharashtra *pheta* made of a long cloth (4.5m to 6m by 1.2m) is less voluminous than the *pheta* of Rajasthan but both have a comon feature, one side of the headdress being higher than the other which covers the ear. Portraits of Swami Vivekananda show a similar type of headdress. The other type of headdress called *rumal* has two equally balanced sides with two projecting points, one in front and the other at the rear.

Among traditional dresses, *barabandi,* an upper garment, needs mention as it was once very popular though now it is rarely to be seen. It was provided with six pairs of strings or tapes which helped to fasten the upper flap at the left side. On formal occasions a long coat was worn over the *barabandi*. The pre-formed turbans of earlier days are also becoming extinct. The working and agricultural classes wear dhoti up to the knees, *kabja* (armless jacket) or *kopri* (tunic with half sleeves) and cap or head-scarf. A blanket is thrown over the shoulders in winter. The Muslims generally wear pyjamas instead of dhoti.

The dress of the women comprises sari *(sadi)* and *choli*. Saris worn in the northern States measure 4.6 to 5.5m (5 to 6 yds), but in Maharashtra two varieties are available. One has a width of 1.14 to 1.27m and a length of 7.3 to 8.2m (8 to 9 yds). The other

is of the normal size with a width of 1.14m and a length of 4.6 to 5.5m. Both the types have length-wise borders *(kinara)* on the two edges, and breadthwise borders *(padars)* on the two ends. The end intended for display on the body is richly decorated. The 8.2m sari, known as *sadi* or *lugadi* in Marathi is worn with a posterior tuck (Fig. 65). This mode of wearing is called *sakachcha-nesana*. This longer length of sari worn with hind pleats is a distinctive feature of all the States in the peninsular south excepting Kerala. The sari of shorter length is usually the favourite of young girls and fashionable ladies who necessarily wear a foundation of *parkar* (petticoat) and *chàddi* (underwear). The old style of wearing the longer sari which sometimes extended to 9m was a little elaborate. In the simpler form the less decorated end is first wrapped round the waist and firmly knotted to form a petticoat-like round. Thus it is not necessary to wear a petticoat. Then the front pleats are formed, the bunch at the top is rolled a little forward into a stiff piece which is then tucked in over the knot at the navel. The lower ends of the gathers are spread out, the central end at the bottom is held up and neatly passed through the legs to the back (Fig. 63). Here the ends are again gathered into pleats of 5 to 8 cm and tucked firmly into the waist at the backcentre. The sari is then folded around the calves neatly. Sometimes the inside ends are secured with gathers so that the calves or legs may not get bared while walking. For the upper part, the ornamental end *(padar)* is passed round the back, under the right arm across the chest and then over the left shoulder. The famous Luxmibai, the Rani of Jhansi, is found in pictures, wearing this garb. In contrast to *sakachcha-nesana is gol-nesana,* the round mode of wear without *kachcha* where the wrap hangs shirt-like down the waist in the normal style of the north.

The *choli,* characteristic of the region, covers about half the length of the back and is fastened by a knot centrally just under the breasts. The urbanites have, to a certain measure, discarded this old-fashioned apparel and have taken to the use of blouse with brassiers. But a reversion to new types of *cholis* is apparent in the form of blouse with close-fitting half sleeves and low-cut necks covering half the back and leaving the upper abdomen bare. The women working in the field or other places wear a knee-length sari with scanty pleats. The free end of the sari is not allowed to dangle at the back but is passed under the right arm and is tucked in at the waist. Though Maratha ladies generally, and ladies of the Brahmin class on formal occasions, wear the saris in over-head style, the women of the working class do not cover their heads.

KARNATAKA

In Karnataka men use a dhoti called *dhotara* (3.7 to 4.6m long and 1.3m wide) with a narrow coloured border on each of the lengthwise sides. It is draped round the waist with a posterior tuck in the same manner as found in Maharashtra. In some places, generally in the south of the State, younger men wrap a coloured or white shorter piece of cloth *(panche)* in *lungi*-style, that is, without front pleats and back-tuck. This style of wearing the lower garment is prevalent in all the four States of the south. Shirt, *jubba* (similar to *kurta*) or *banian* covers the upper part of the body. Elders often throw a piece of cloth *(shalya* or *angavastra*) over their shoulders. There is a total absence of the type of turbans use by the Brahmins in Maharashtra. But two types of freshly folded headdress, the *pheta* and the *rumal* were once in vogue like in Maharashtra. *Rumal,* a large square piece of cloth, is less worn now. *Pheta,* the characteristic headdress of the people of

former Mysore State, is often bordered by a lace. It is particularly worn in the south of Karnataka and is wound round the head in a triangular fashion. Many elderly people of the upper class wear voluminous white turban. Cap is also occasionally worn in place of turban.

The dress of women consists of a sari, called *seere,* and a tight-fitting short jacket or blouse called *kuppasa*. One end of the sari is gathered into a bunch of frontal pleats, while the other free end passing across the bosom is drawn over the left shoulder so that either it hangs behind or covers the back fully up to the right shoulder and arm. Except amongst Brahmins and some other castes, a portion of the sari is drawn over the head. Some Brahmin sects, particularly Mudhavas and Shrivaishnavas, wear the sari in the *kachcha* style. Among the women of labouring classes, the posterior tuck is common as it facilitates free movement. Married women during some religious functions use the inner loose end of the sari for tucking in at the back. In Karnataka the sari has a wider border (called *acha*) than in Maharashtra. In recent years the length of the sari has been shortened to 4.6 to 5.5m. The upper garment is of a similar design as found in Maharashtra. The *kuppasa* is generally made of coloured cloth with gussets and often has borders. The usual dress of a girl consists of a *langa* (skirt) and a jacket.

Men of the Muslim community generally wear dhoti, but elderly men sometimes use pyjamas instead. They use a skull-cap before tying turban. Muslim women wear either sari and blouse or pyjamas and full-sleeved shirt. The Moplahs who claim decent from Arab traders of old, wear a white or striped cloth in lungi-style and put on a shirt and a cap. Their women usually wear red or other coloured cloth or check patterned sari in a *lungi*-fashion along with a full-sleeved shirt. They wear silver chains on their ankles and sometimes tie a piece of cloth on thier forehead. The Christian girls living in villages wear white skirt over which a short sari is worn in a *lungi*-stuyle, but married Christian ladies wear sari in the usual fashion.

The Coorgs have their own characteristic dress, both for men and women. Coorgmen wear trousers, shirt and coat. But on festive occasions they come out with a long coat of dark colour open in front and reaching below the knees. The sleeves of the coat reach just below the elbows, exposing the arms of a white shirt worn underneath the coat. A red or blue sash of cotton or silk is wound round the waist several times before being knotted. On the right front a short Coorg knife, with silver or ivory handle and fastened with a silver chain, is stuck to the sash. A turban, large and flat at the top, is worn covering the nape of the neck.

Coorg women wear the sari in a special style (Fig. 35). First, one end of the sari is wrapped round the waist and tied by a string after forming pleats and tucking them at the back instead of in front. The other free end is brought from behind under the right arm and passed under the left arm with its upper edge horizontally lined from one armpit to the other above the bosom and the lower edge lying near the ankle. The free end is then passed across the back, and its upper edge is pulled a little over the right shoulder and knotted or pinned there with the upper edge of the front portion. The head is covered with a coloured scarf, one side of the scarf lines the forehead while its four corners are knotted together at the back allowing the ends to fall on the shoulders.

ANDHRA PRADESH

The common dress of men in this region consists of dhoti, shirt or *jubba* (kurta) and *paibatta*. The most common mode of wearing the dhoti is known as *gochipancha* or *panchakattu*. The middle portion of the dhoti is adjusted along the waist in such a manner that the portion of the right side is made longer than that of the left side. The left portion is drawn up between the legs and tucked in the waist at the back. In the old traditional style some portion of the edge hanging loose at the posterior tuck is spread out to cover the left side of the seat and again tucked it. The longer portion of the dhoti on the righ side is pleated and tucked in at the front. The lower edge of the pleats are lifted up and tucked in at the front. The hind tucking is called *gochi* and the front pleats are called *kuchchelu*.

There is another style of wearing a short dhoti known as *addapancha* or *goodakattu*. The short-dhoti about 2m long is simply wrapped round the waist and held by side tucks without any frontal pleats or posterior tuck. It is a *lungi*-like wear commonly adopted in the southern areas of the State and mostly worn by the younger people as in Karnataka. Working class men generally wear this type of lower garment and fold it up above the knees to facilitate easy movement of the legs.

For an upper garment, *Jubba* is being replaced by a shirt. Most men in the coastal region use a scarf called *paibatta* or *kanduva*. This piece of cloth about 2m in length is usually folded and is put over one shoulder and then wound round the neck and allowed to fall backwards on the same shoulder. It is a prescribed item of dress for ceremonial or religious occasions. In rural areas, poor people sling a hand-woven towel over the shoulder when they do not wear any upper garment. In villages the Muslim men wear coloured and striped handloom *lungi* stitched at either end, shirt or *jubba* and towel. In towns, *lungi* is substituted by pyjamas and towel by cap. *Sherwani* is worn on ceremonial occasions.

Fig. 35

Mode of dress of some Muslims and Christians conforms closely to the Hindu pattern. Headdress on the Karnataka side of Andhra is more voluminous than in Karnataka and is white. Brahmins generally prefer to move about without any headdress.

Women were sari *(chira)* and blouse *(ravika)*. The sari is shorter than the one favoured in Maharashtra, its length being 7.3m instead of 8.2m. Brahmins of Madhava, Srivaishnava and some other sects continue to adhere to their customary style of wearing sari with back-tuck known as *billagochi*. In this *billagochi* style, the end of the left side portion of the sari is drawn up between the legs for a posterior tuck. Another mode of wear with a posterior tuck is known as *mattagochi,* commonly current among the labouring class. In *mattagochi* sari is worn in the usual *goodakattu* mode but the front pleats are drawn up casually between the legs and tucked in at the back waist. The side hanging of the sari is also taken up and tucked in at the sides. This shortening of the vertical length of sari seems functional especially for work like digging earth, lifting bricks and climbing on scaffolds.

The standard mode of wearing sari among the non-Brahmins is without a posterior tuck, as is found in north India. This style is called *goodakattu* but is different from the *goodakattu* mode of male wear because the sari has the usual front pleats. There are two different styles of drawing up the surplus portion of the sari to cover the upper part of the body. Generally, among Brahmins, the free end of the sari is drawn up from the left side and taken over the left shoulder and the end is either allowed to dangle at the back or brought in front under the right arm and tucked in at the left waist. Among other castes, the process of draping the upper part of the body is just the reverse with the free end passing over the right shoulder instead of the left. In both the styles, it is not customary to draw the end of the sari over the head. In this, it differes from the style of Karnataka where the head is generally kept covered by ladies in non-Brahmin families. Earlier ravika, the upper garment, was like the Maharashtrian *choli* which fastens in front by knotting two side flaps. Now *ravika* with modern cut is replacing the old style. Female labourers in rural areas sometimes do not use *ravika* but fully cover their body with the sari.

Grown-up girls wear *ravika* with a long skirt pleated all round and tied at one end as a lower garment. Over the skirt they wear *pamita* (half-sari) measuring about 2.3m. It is pleated three or four times and tucked into the left side of the skirt. The remaining portion of the *pamita* is brought round from behind and drawn up over the left shoulder with its end hanging at the back (Fig. 36). The *pamita* does not fully cover the skirt. Muslim women generally wear the same dress as the Hindu women, but some wear *salwar* and *kameez*.

TAMIL NADU

In the Tamil speaking region dhoti is known as *vesti*. It is worn with a posterior tuck in three different ways. The *panchagachcham* mode of wear uses five tuckings as indicated by the name (Fig. 37). Dhoti is worn is this manner on sacred occasions, mostly by the Brahmins. The more common mode of wearing of Brahmins is known as *trikachcham,* using only three tuckings. The portion drawn up behind is partially pleated for tucking in and one edge of the portion is left dangling. In another style of wear, the

lower edge of the dangling frontal pleats is also drawn up between the legs and tucked in at the back by the side of the first posterior tuck. The working class wear a dhoti of shorter length and breadth with posterior tuck and a few frontal pleats. On the left side it reaches up to the mid-thigh and on the right up to the knee. Sometimes the surplus right portion of the dhoti is gathered breadthwise and wrapped round the waist.

Fig. 36

Fig. 37

But the most common way of wearing the dhoti is to wrap it in a simple manner round the waist without a back-tuck (Fig. 38). This mode of wear requires a thick short-dhoti (*ottevesti),* 3.7m in length. Sometimes a dhoti of double the length *(rettaivesti)* is converted into a short dhoti by folding it lengthwise. An underwear or *komanam (langoti)* is worn underneath the dhoti. Muslim men of the older generation continue their old mode of dress. They wear a coloured *lungi* and a shirt. The dress of the Christians resembles that of the Hindus.

A scarf *(angavastram)* is used for the upper part of the body. It is put round the shoulders as in (Figs. 37 and 38). Sometimes it is wrapped round the waist as a *kamarband*. Some Brahmins tuck in a small kerchief or piece of cloth at the waist; it comes handy for dusting a place clean before squatting. The north Indian *bandi* or any close-fitting upper garment is conspicuous by its absence in these southern regions. The Brahminical classes remain bare-headed like the Brahmins in Andhra or the people in the eastern regions. Even non-Brahmins now prefer to go about without covering their heads, except in districts bordering Karnataka and Andhra where voluminous headgears may be seen.

The length of the sari varies from 6.4m (7 yds) to 9m (10 yds) depending on the manner of wearing. The standard mode *(madisar)* of wearing the sari with a posterior tuck requires not less than 7m. The sari is known as *selai* or *pudavai*. The style of wearing the sari generally depends on the caste or the sect of a community. It is customary for the Brahmin women to pass the inner end of the sari between the legs and to tuck in at the waist behind. The points at which the pleats are tucked in vary with different styles. More often the frontal pleats are tucked in at the left hip as is the fashion with the Smartha and Iyer women (Fig. 39). Vaishnava women, for instance the Iyengars, do not use any ornamental fold (Fig. 40). Among some castes the pleats are worn at the right hip while among a few the pleats are displayed at the back of the waist as is done by the Coorg women.

Fig. 38

Unlike the Maharashtrian women, the Tamil women conceal their back-tuck by bringing the sari at least once more round the waist after the posterior tucking. The ornamental pleats *(kosavu)* also get hidden under this second wrapping, only the lower ends remain visible (Fig. 39). The surplus portion of the sari that goes on the upper part is called *marapu*. There are two styles of disposing of this upper portion. More often the surplus portion is drawn from the left side over the bosom and the right shoulder and then it is brought over the left side from the back for tucking in the edge in front of the right hip as in the case of Iyer ladies (Fig. 39). In the other style, the mode of wrapping takes the opposite directioin as in the case of Iyengar ladies (Fig. 40). It is interesting to note that in

Karnataka the sari is universally carried over from the right hip to the left shoulder. In Andhra two modes are prevalent but the Karnataka mode is more preferred. In Tamil Nadu the mode of drawing the sari over the right shoulder appears to be far more common. The other mode of wearing the sari without a posterior tuck is known as *goodakattu* or *mambayakattu* and is the style of non-Brahmin women; though even Brahmin women adopt this mode on non-formal and non-ritual occasions. In this

Fig. 39

Fig. 40

style the upper portion of the sari is taken from the right hip to the left shoulder. It requires only 5.5m of sari. in the past this mode was not very popular, but now it is fast coming into vogue among all classes, particularly in the towns, thus levelling the sartorial social distinctions.

Ravikkai, a tight jacket used as an upper garment, is slowly giving place to blouse of modern style. As in Andhra Pradesh, the women in Tamil Nadu do not use their sari to cover their heads. Muslim

ladies, however, cover their heads. The dress of young girls consist of a long skirt pleated all round, a blouse and a half-sari *(davanni)* which does not fully cover the skirt (Fig. 36). One end of the half-sari is tucked into the left side of the skirt and the other end after taking round the back is slung back over the left shoulder.

KERALA

In this region, the principal article of dress both for men and women is *mundu.* It is a piece of white cloth, 2.3m in length and 1.4m in breadth which is worn round the waist in the manner a *lungi* is worn. Most communities, both among Hindus and Christians, tuck it inside on the right side of the waist while Muslims often do so on the left. The *mundu* reaches the ankle or nearly touches the ground. But it is common to see men fold up the *mundu* from below up to the knees and tuck it in at the front waist almost in the middle to allow free movement for the legs. It also saves the garment from being soiled or getting wet during heavy rains. It is simple to wear. One does not have to bother about adjusting the frontal pleats or back-tuck. Since it is a short wraping, the garment is worn always with supporting undergarment. The traditional undergarment has been *konam* or *koupinam,* a strip of cloth passing between the thighs and attached, both at the back and at the front, to a waist--string. *Konam* has now generally been replaced by modern underwear. The traditional upper garment for men is *torthu* or *torthumundu,* a short piece of cloth which is thrown over the shoulders or folded and slung on one sholder like a towel. But on special occasions a cloth of better texture *(parumundu),* somewhat longer and broader, is wrapped round the upper part of the body. The shirt, instead of the traditional wrap, is popular among the urban sections of the people. Even villagers are now using a shirt while going out to public places.

There are also other modes of dressing in certain communities. Namboothiris, Elayads and some others on religious occasions wear a long dhoti with frontal pleats and back-tuck. This style of wear is called *thattu.* Some communities of both sexes while performing religious ceremonies follow this style of dressing. The Muslim men wear a *mundu,* white or coloured, with a border. They sometimes tie the *mundu* with a *nool,* a waist-string to which are attached some pieces of gold or silver containing religious texts. They put on a small linen skull-cap. A few decades ago it was customary for a Government servant to wear a coat and headgear but this practice has now disappeared.

Women wear *mundu* as a lower garment. Most women of Hindu community also wear an undergarment called *onnaramundu.* It is a large piece of cloth wound tightly round the loins and then round the legs separately and tucked in at the back on the right side. It serves like short tight drawers. The women wear bodice and blouse, generally coloured, as upper garment. Some wear a longer piece of cloth of finer texture over the shoulders as an additional garment while going out. Namboothiris wear an undergarment in a different style. A knee-length cloth is fastened tightly round the loins and then passed between the legs and tucked in behind at the waist. Another cloth is wrapped round the breast under the armpits reaching up to the thigh. While going-out they cover themselves up from neck to ankle with a long piece of cloth. It reminds us of the style in which a Toda woman covers herself. The dress of the Tamil Brahmins who have settled in Kerala is the same as described earlier and shown in Figs. 38 and 39.

Christian women are accustomed to dress in white clothes in a particular manner. They wear a white long-sleeved jacket up to the waist and a long white cloth (6.4m long and 1.2m broad), with or without coloured border, tied round the waist with a number of fan-like fringes behind. Jewish women use a red coloured cloth as a lower garment and a jacket. The Muslim women's dress consists of white or coloured *mundu,* full or half-sleeved jacket with tight neck and a scarf thrown over the head and falling over the shoulders. Modern styles are slowly replacing the traditional ones. A large number of women wear half-sari *(neriyatu)* in combination with *mundu* and blouse. A large percentage of women, mostly younger generation in diferent castes and communities, have adopted sari, petticoat and blouse of modern design. They are moving towards a more or less uniform pattern of dressing, though there are exceptions. It is, however, seen that as they grow older, many of them revert to the traditional form of dress.

LAKSHADWEEP

The Union Territory of Lakshadweep consists of Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi group of islands which stretch off the south-west coast of India in the Arabian Sea. The indigenous population in all the islands is Muslim. They originally belonged to the mainland and migrated from there in stages. The dress of the people of Laccadive and Amindivi islands is indistinguishable from that of Moplas of Malabar. The men ordinarily wear white or coloured *thuni* (dhoti) and *thattom*—a piece of cloth wrapped round the head. Vest, drawers and shirt are also used. The women dress in the manner of the Muslim women of Malabar. Their sartorial ensemble consists of full-sleeved jacket *(kappayam)* with gilt-bordered neck, dhoti *(kachi thuni)* with black, blue or red border and black or white cloth *(thattom)* to cover the head, as is done with an *orhni.* The girls attending school wear *pavada,* jacket and *thattom.*

The Minicoy islanders have a different dress. Men wear pyjamas which are tight above the ankles. A short dhoti is wrapped over the pyjamas. It is folded up and tucked into the waist in such a way that the folded cloth remains a little above the knee. *Banyan* or printed bush-shirt serves as an upper garment. The Minicoy women wrap round their wiast a dhoti, generally of green colour with red border, that reaches a little above the ankle. Over this they wear a cotton or silm gown, generally of red colour, descending down to the ankle. The gown is tightly fitted and smocked about the breast. Slits at the shoulders are fastened by buttons or loops after the garment is slipped over the head. To cover the head, a plain black cloth folded diagonally is thrown over the head with the end dangling on the sides and the back.

ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR ISLANDS

The group of islands of this Union Territory appears like a chain stretching from north to south in the Bay of Bengal. In the Andaman Islands the Indian settlers constitute the major population. They either continue to follow the traditional dresses of the mainland or wear modern dresses. The Burmese settlers prefer their own dresses. Aboriginal tribes like Andamanese, Onges and Jarawas are gradually giving up their old sartorial customs and dresses that are in vogue. In the Nicobar Islands the inhabitants dress differentially. Men wear beach-shorts of bright colours. When they need an upper garment they prefere vest and shirt. Those who work in government departments or

commerical establishments normally wear trousers, shorts, shirt or bush-shirt. Coat is very rarely worn. Women are generally found wearing Burmese type of dress of bright colours. They use a tight-fitting blouse as an upper garment and a *lungi,* like the *sarong,* as a lower garment. Usually a piece of cloth is tied over the *lungi* and serves as a belt.

Chapter IX

Rural and Tribal Costumes (North)

In India there are about 5.5 lakh settlements classed as villages, and villagers constitute about eighty per cent of the Indian population. We will never have a complete sartorial map of India if we miss the rural and tribal patterns of dress. The importance of the dress worn by four-fifths of our population cannot be minimised. The rural dress brings up a life-some picture of the village. It extends some understanding of its life-style. Therefore, an attempt has been made to describe these dresses as could be actually seen in the villages of some of the States and the Union Territories. Village surveys undertaken for the first time under the Census of India, 1961 lend a very profitable source material for the purpose. We hvae already described the regional dresses of each State. It was in the nature of a generalisation. The two chapters on 'Rural and Tribal Costumes' may serve as a complement to the chapters on 'Contemporary Scene' and may provide as insight into the community's social impact on dress.

In a previous chapter the costumes of some of the tribal communities of the eastern hill States were described. About half of the total tribal population in India occupy Western and Central highlands and adjoining regions extending from the Aravali Ranges, through the Vindhyas, the Satpuras and Chota Nagpur to the Rajmahal Hills. Many tribes have their home in Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa and Andhra Pradesh. The following pages will provide a glimpse of the sartorial style of some of the tribal communities.

Several multi-ethnic or tribal villages are quite removed from urban areas, towns or district headquarters. These villages have fewer reasons to choose change and more reasons to remain lodged in their traditions. Thus the dresses of these communities inherited from their fore-fathers have remained the same, maybe, for hundreds of years. And yet it lends interest to the fact that the winds of change have filtered into many of these far flung villages through chinks of opportunities of contact with the outside world.

KASHMIR

*Kharboo village in Ladakh district (North)**

We begin with a village from our northernmost picturesque State of Jammu and Kashmir. Kharboo at a height of about 3,000 metres, cradled inside the lofty Himalayan ranges, is the only place where people speak Shina, an offshoot of Dardic language. This isolated village located in the Ladakh district, 'the wonderland of Lamas', is wholly inhabited by the Muslim community. The climatic conditions and lack of modern

---

** Indicates locational direction of the district with reference to the state*

amenities have necessitated the Kharboo villagers, like others in the region, to wear the same dress peculiar to Ladakh.

The chief garment is the long woollen cloak of *pattu* flowing down to the feet. Known as *challi* its left flap overlaps the right one and is fastened on the right side. A girdle of white cotton is tied round the waist in a knot with its ends hanging. The two other garments worn underneath are a shirt and a petticoat both made of *pattu.* The headgear is a quilted skull-cap or a cap of sheepskin provided with a large flap to cover the ears and the neck. Of late, there is a change in the pattern of dress for summer during which cotton undergarments are used. The women also wear a similar garment (Fig. 41). Sometimes, *pheran* is worn in place of a cloak and pyjamas in place of a petticoat. In winter a piece of sheepskin with wool inside is used to cover the body. The waist-girdle over a female garment is of red coloured *pattu.*

Fig. 41

Pattu is the woollen cloth locally manufactured by most households.The inhabitants themselves tailor their clothes. Like other Ladakhis, the inhabitants wear *paloo,* the common footwear for men and women. The villagers themselves make *paloo* using felt or *pattu* for the instep and skin of sheep or goat for the sole.

Zachaldara village in Baramulla district (North-80 km from Srinagar)

The men and women of this village, who are all Muslims, have a common type of dress consisting of a *pheran,* a *poch,* a shirt and a pair of trousers. *Poch* made of *khaddar* cloth is a replica of *pheran* and is worn beneath it. The difference between male and female dress is marked in the headgear, the men wear the local cap while the women use a headscarf. Some women use *pheran* of a longer length and fold its wide sleeves. In winter a change is made from the cotton to the woollen *pheran.* The front of a woman's pheran is sometimes embroidered with fine cotton or silk threads. Trousers are worn loose and they terminate 7.5 cm above the ankles.

The women wear on their heads a piece of plain cloth (2.3m by 90cm). This headscarf, called *puz,* is folded before wearing so that it may cover the whole head but may not sway far below the waist. Women tie a cotton belt round their waist while at work. *Chappals* or *paizar* made of locally tanned hide are the comon footwear. In winter wooden pattens called *kharaw* is used inside the house. Outside, *pulhoru,* handmade shoes of grass, are used. It has the advantage over other footwear in as much as it does not slip off while walking over frozen snow.

Fig. 42

HIMACHAL PRADESH

Chergaon village in Mahasu district (South)

The village, situated at a height of 1800 metres, is inhabited by Rajputs, Thakurs and Kolis. The men wear *kurta* (with or witout collar), *sadri* (waist-coat), *jurkhi* (woollen *achkan*), *suthan* (pyjamas narrowed at the bottom and sometimes richly embroidered), *gachi* (waist-band, 3.7m to 4.6m long) and *Bushahri* cap. The attire of the women is similar to that of men except the headdress (Fig. 42). The collared *kurta* used by the women is lengthier and looser than that used by the men. The *jurkhi* is sometimes worn with upturned sleeves. Their headdress, *dhathu,* is a square piece of coloured cloth folded in the form of a triangle and then placed over the head with its base lining the forehead and its two side corners given a simple knot at the back of the neck. But the traditional style of wearing the *dhathu* is different though not preferred by the younger generation. First a round cap is worn and then a folded big white cloth is wrapped round the head and tied to one side.

PUNJAB

Kunran village in Sangrur district (South)

The village community is heterogeneous with a majority of Sikh Jats who form the backbone of the agricultural economy. The dress of Sikh men consists of long shirt or *kurta, chadra* (a sheet of cloth wrapped round the waist like a *hungi*), and a coloured *safa*

(turban). Every male wears a vest and a *kachcha*. The Hindus make use of dhoti or pyjamas in place of *chadra* and usually wear a white turban. The Muslim males use pyjamas or *lungi* and white turban. Women of all communities and castes have a common dress which consists of *garara* (trousers), *kurti* and *chunni*. In winter they wrap themselves with *phulkari* (thick cotton cloth) or a coloured cotton sheet embroidered with silken thread. Married women wear *ghagra* when they have to visit some place outside the village. Younger women do not follow this practice.

RAJASTHAN

Kalijal village in Jodhpur district (West)

Kalijal is a desert village inhabited by Rajputs, Jats and few Bhils. The menfolk wear dhoti, *kurta* and half-sleeved or full-sleeved *bandi*. The Rajputs generally put on *safo* (15m in length), while others use *potia* (3m in length) as a headdress. On ceremonial occasions the Rajputs wear coat. The women are found in *ghagra, kanchali* (corset) and *orhni*. The *kanchali* is covered by a *kurti* (half-sleeved blouse). The hanging ends of the *orhni* covering the head are tucked into the skirt band or its one end is tied round the waist like a *kamarband* so that the arms are free for work. Higher classes tuck in only the left side of the *orhni,* leaving the right side end to be used as a veil when required or to be thrown on the left shoulder. While going out, the women, as a sign of respectability, put a white *chadar* called *thirma* over their head and shoulders. In addition, a *phetia* or *besra a* metre long strip of coloured cloth) is tucked at the navel to fall straight in front of the *ghagra*. The favourite colour of the *orhni* is red and of *ghagra* blue with red spots or red with blue spots. In winter, thick cotton sheets are used as an overall to keep warm. Girls wear *salwar* and *kameez*.

Khajoora village in Banswara district (South)

The village is situated on undulating hillocks covered by dense forest and is inhabited by Bhils, the most ancient inhabitants of Rajasthan. *Phento, potrio* and *angi* are the main articles of male dress. *Phento,* a piece of white cloth (5.5m long and 4cm broad), is tied on the head in a circular fashion with six rounds. The middle part of the crown is left uncovered. *Angi* that resembles a *bandi* covers the upper part of the body. *Potrio* (4m long and 90cm broad) is wrapped round the waist, leaving the legs below the knees uncovered. The female sartorial ensemble consists of *angi, kapri, ghagro* and *lungro*. *Angi* of a woman is worn like a blouse. It is an upper covering with or without sleeves. *Kapri,* another type of upper covering, is short like a brassiere. It is made of two pieces of cloth joined at the centre and is fastened with strings at the back. It is made of printed cloth, while *angi* is generally white. *Ghagro* is a form of *ghagra* with neither end well above the ankles. While at work, women tuck the lower part of the back of the *ghagro* in the front between the legs. This allows free movement. *Lungro* is an *orhni* (2.20m long and 1.30m broad) usually of red colour or of printed material. The women dress their hair quite elaborately. The hair in front is combed towards the forehead and a kind of network is formed around the forehead. On the sides, small plaits of hair are made which are tied to the main tuft.

Bagor village in Bhilwara district (South-East)

The village is inhabited by the Sansis and the Kanjars—nomadic tribes who were colonised in 1931 by the government of Mewar. There is no difference between the dresses of Sansi and Kanjar menfolk. They put on a small dhoti hardly reaching up to the knees, *Kurta* or *bandi* and *potia*. In winter, a woollen blanket or a two-piece cotton cloth stitched together *(dohar)* is worn. The Sansi women's dress consists of *ghagra, orhni* and *choli*. Kanjar women, however, wear *salwar* and *kameez*. Sometimes a half-sleeved or full-sleeved long shirt hanging down to the knees deputises for a *kameez*, and a pair of tight-fitting trousers is worn instead of a loose *salwar*. It is said that the Kanjar women's use of trousers was necessitated due to their past nomadic life whose activities sometimes required running about. After their colonisation they were asked to put on *ghagras* instead of trousers but they resisted the change, though it is said that the then authorities did succeed to some extent.

UTTAR PRADESH

Lohta village in Varanasi district (East)

The main occupation of the people is weaving of silk saris. Men of the Hindu community wear *dhoti, kurta* or shirt and *banian* or *bandi*. While doing manual labour only *bandi* or *banian* is used as an upper garment. Sometimes a scarf is used round the neck or is placed on the shoulder. Women wear sari and blouse. In addition, petticoat and bodice are worn as undergarments in well-to-do families. A silken *chadar* is sometimes used to cover the head and shoulders by elderly ladies when going out of the house, or attending ceremonies. The dress of a Hindu couple is shown in (Fig. 43). Men of the Muslim community wear loose or coloured pyjamas, *lungi, banian, shirt* and cap. *Sherwani* or *achkan* is also used by well-to-do classes. Some Muslims use dhoti in the Hindu style. Muslim women generally use tight pyjamas or *salwar, kurta* or shirt and *dupatta*. Sometimes they are seen wearing sari. Women use *burqua* though poorer families cannot afford it.

BIHAR

Jamkanali village in Santal Pargana district (East)

Among the tribes in Bihar, Santals are the most numerous. Their chief home is Santal Pargana named after them. Jamkanali is a Santal village. The usual dress of the menfolk is dhoti or a shorter garment worn well above the knees, the upper part of the body is left bare. A short piece of white cloth *(gamcha)* is wound round the head. Shirt is also worn on festive occasions. Women's wear consists of two pieces of garment. A short piece of cloth (2.3m in length) called *parachan* is wrapped round the waist reaching just below the knees. Even if a sari is sometimes used, it is not carried above the waist, the surplus length makes a bulge in the front. Another piece of cloth of a similar dimension called *panchi* is used to cover the torso. The cloth starts upwards from the front, covers the breast, passes over the left shoulder, comes down the back in a transverse line and appears at the right side of the waist where the end of the cloth is gathered and tied round the waist, passing over the first end of the garment.

Fig. 43

Ghagra village in Ranchi district (South)

It is a mixed village of Munda and Oraon tribes, the former being in majority. Men wear a short dhoti and sometimes use a shirt. They cover their body with a *chadar* while going out of the village. The use of headdress is not common. Women wear a short sari up to the knees, its upper end is flung across the left shoulder (Fig. 44). Sometimes the sari has a red or black border. On special occasions young women put on coloured blouse. They adorn themselves with brass, silver and glass ornaments. During winter men and Women use blanket or thick coarse *chadar*.

Fig. 44

MADHYA PRADESH

Richari village in Datia district (North)

The village, in Bundelkhand region, has a multi-caste composition with Ahirs in majority. Men wear dhoti and *kurta* or shirt. The poorer people use *bandi* instead of *kurta.* All elderly members of various communities wrap a 7m long cloth round their head. A piece of thin cloth, usually red, is slung across the shoulders while going out.

Women of the Ahir community put on *ghagra, choli* and *loongda.* One end of *loongda,* a short sari, is pleated a little before tucking it in near the navel. It is then drawn round the back from the left and passed under the right arm and across the bosom before taking it over to cover the head and also to veil the face when so required. Some women make use of *angiya,* a piece of cloth tailored in the brassiere style and tied at the back with strings. It is used with *ghagra* and covered with *loongda.*

Naharkheda village in Indore district (West)

The village is inhabited by a tribe of Banjaras. The men wear dhoti, shirt and turban, generally of red colour. The women wear *ghagra, zhabla* (half-sleeved blouse) and *orhni* (Fig. 45). The young married women put on *kanchali,* a brassiere type of coloured covering tied at the back with strings and provided with half sleeves. *Ghagra* is usually of red or maroon colour. The Banjara women adorn their bun with a wooden stem which is vertically fixed to it. It is called *rakhdi* which provides a typical angular lift to the *orhni* and adds elegance to their dress. They love to profusely adorn their body with ornaments of various types in the manner of the Lambadis of Andhra.

Fig. 45

Jaitpur village in Jabalpur district (Central)

The village is in a tribal belt mostly covered by thick forests and hillocks. This is a Gond village. The Gonds had ruled large areas of this tribal belt before the advent of the British and for this reason, the region is also known as Gondwana. The men wear a short dhoti, 3.7m long, usually girded above the knees and known *as pardhania.* They also wear a *salooka* (vest) or sometimes a shirt. An *angocha* (a country towel is loosely thrown over the shoulder. The older people keep their head covered by wrapping round a piece of cloth (1.5m long) with its loose end hanging on the back.

The mode of dressing of the Gond women differs somewhat from that of other ethnic groups of the region. Earlier, women used to wrap a short sari round the waist with its upper end flung across the bosom and over the left shoulder (Fig. 44). This pattern of wearing the sari can still be seen in the eastern part of the Gondwana region. In this village the Gond women use sari of 8.2m length. The poor people cut it into two equal parts and use it in a manner which is quite typical. One end of the cloth is firmly tried round the waist leaving a portion which is tucked in at the back while the other end is thrown over the left shoulder. The greater part of the back as well as the arms are left uncovered. The arms, chest and the back are generally adorned with tatoo marks. Tribal women in the west of the region cover their heads. Nowadays wearing *choli* is becoming very popular among young women.

WEST BENGAL

Bhumij Dhan Sol village in Midnapor district (South)

Surrounded by dense forests and inhabited by aboriginal tribes of Lodhas

and Bhumijes, the village of Bhumij Dhan Sol is still in such a primitive stage that some of the tribals still light their *chuttis* (a kind of bidi) by rubbing two pieces of wood. The dress of Lodhas and Bhumijes differ a little from each other. The Lodhas wrap a country napkin (3 to 4 cubits) round the waist covering half of the thighs. Some wear a longer piece (7 to 8 cubits) without a posterior tuck. The women use a short-length sari reaching up to the knees. Those who cannot afford to have a sari use two small pieces of cloth, one to put round the waist and the other to cover the upper part of the body.

Though the Bhumijes wear longer dhotis (7 to 8 cubits) they hardly feel the necessity of covering the legs below the knees. While going out they wear the dhoti with a posterior tuck and lower it below the knees. The Bhumij women wear sari, 8 to 9 cubits in length. The upper end of the sari after covering the upper part of the body is brought round from the right and tucked in on the left side of the waist. While at work the end of the sari is rolled round along the waist but otherwise the upper edge is so neatly tucked that the end is displayed with its full width on the front. Saris of deeper shades of red, blue and green are favoured. Some young women have started using the blouse on festive occasions.

ORISSA

Daanla village in Keonjhar district (North-East)

The village has a tribal population of Bhuiyas and Kolhas. Their dress consists of white handloom or mill cloth, the current preference is for the latter as it is less costly. Men wear a piece of white cloth (91cm by 61cm) round their waist with a posterior tuck. It hardly extends upto the knees. Another small piece of cloth folded lengthwise is slung on the shoulder or tied round the loins. Shirts and *banians* are used only on festive occasions or on journeys out of the village. The women wear sari (4.6m by 1.2m) with a very thin border. Its free end is thrown back over the left shoulder and then brought back to be tucked in on the left waist. The length of the cloth reaches down up to the claves. Occasionally a few well-to-do women wear full length silk or cotton saris in the same style.

Chapter X

Rural and Tribal Costumes (South)

MAHARASHTRA

Shirvali village in Thana District (West)

The village, located in a forest tract 50 km from Bombay, is inhabited by Malhar Kolis and Kunbis. The Malhar Kolis who are the tribal people of that area generally wear *langoti*. When they wear knee-length dhoti it just covers one round of the waist, leaving a small triangular portion to hang near the knees. The Kunbis being in a little better financial position use a short dhoti for daily wear but they put on a long dhoti on important occasions. A *kabja* (*bandi*) and a *rumal* (headgear) are also worn. Among the women, sari and *choli* form the common dress for both the communities (Fig. 46). The sari is generally worn in the Maharashtrian style but the *kachcha* is tightly tied and the lower edge of the sari moves upto the knees. The end of the garment is also tightly fixed along the waist. The manner of wearing allows free movement of the body, so necessary for working in the forest and amid water-logged rice fields.

Fig. 46

GOA, DAMAN AND DIU

Verna village in Salcete Taluka of Goa (West)

It is a Goan village in the (then) Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu. About 90 per cent of the village population is Christian belonging to Brahmin, Shudra, Kumbhar and Gauda communities. Among the Christian Brahmins the men generally

wear shirt and shorts at home and shirt and trousers or complete suit while going out. Their women folk mostly wear frocks both at home and while goint out, but occasionally they wear sari. The influence of the Portuguese who left the territory two decades ago is evident. Barefooted women in frocks carrying on their head pitchers of water from the village well is not a rare sight. The men among the Sildara community dress themselves in *banian* (vest) and shorts at home and shirt or bush-shirt and trousers while goint out. The Gauda men do not put on much clothes. The men wear a strip of loin clothe. At times they add a *banian* to their dress. A few well-to-do Gauda wear shirt and trousers while going out. Gauda women wear a knee length sari of shorter length and width. Most of them do not use any blouse but use the free end of the sari to cover the upper part of the body. Unmarried girls of the community wear a blouse and a knee-length sari of which the free end is not lifted up beyond the waist but wrapped round it.

KARNATAKA

Magadi village in Dharwar district (North-West)

In the village there are people following Hindu, Muslim and Christian faiths. Numerically Lingayats (devotees of Shiva) form the major group, while Kurubas, traditionally a tribe of shepherds, form the next important group. Lamanis, traditionally a nomadic group, have settled down in the village as husbandmen. Variations in the mode of dress are not many. Even Muslims who generally used to wear pyjamas are now wearing dhoti. It is only the Lamani women who are steadfastly attached to their traditional dress. Men are dressed in dhoti, shirt and turban. Dhoti is mostly worn with *Katchcha,* only a few wear it without a posterior tuck. During work in the fields, dhoti is tucked up to the knees. Some men wear a *doublekasi-angi,* a tunic resembling a *kurta.* There are two types of turban—*pataga* (5.5m by 81cm) and *rumal* (5.5m by 46cm). *Pataga* is worn by leaving one of its ends hanging at the back. The younger generation prefer to leave their head bare or wear a cap. *Kambli,* a coarse woollen blanket, is a supplementary garment of a field worker who can use it as a weight-pad, a basket for carrying corn home, a carpet for resting or a headgear for protection from rain and sun.

The apparel of women consists of a sari and a *kuppasa.* Both mill-made and handloom saris are used, but the latter, available in darker shades, is preferred by the working classes. Except married Brahmin women and women of a few other caste groups, all wear saris without a *kachcha. Kuppasa,* resembling *choli,* is a half-sleeved upper garment stitched from handloom cloth. Its loose ends at the front are tied into a knot. Young girls wear a skirt and a blouse. The Lamani women wear a completely different dress. It consists of a coarse multi-coloured petticoat, a stomacher over the bosom and an elaborately embroidered scarf covering the head and the upper part of the body. The hair is worn in ringlets or plaits decorated with small shells and terminating in tassels. Heavy brass and bone bangles and anklets cover their arms and ankles.

Thannimani village in Coorge district (South)

The Gowdas, the original settlers, form the major community of the village. Other communities are Brahmins and Marathas and Kudiyas. The men among the Gowdas, Marathas and Kudiyas use shirt and shorts when they work in the field. On other

occasions their dress consists of a short dhoti without *kachcha,* shirt and coat. Some wear trousers instead of a short dhoti. As a headdress, the elders tie a cloth (about a square metre) on the head with a tail of about 30cm hanging on the back. Younger people use caps. The other communities do not cover their head. Drawers and hosiery vest are used as undergarments. The elders among the Brahmins put on dhoti with *kachcha.*

Gowda and Maratha women have evolved a typical way of wearing the sari. It is a combination of Karnataka and Coorg styles. The manner of draping the garment below the waist is like that of Karnataka and above it is like that of Coorgs. Pleats *(neri)* at the front hang down from the waist to the ankle. The free end of the sari *(seragu)* is brought from the back over the right shoulder where it is tied with a knot to that portion of the sari which covers the bosom at the front. Full-sleeved blouse is worn. As undergarments, bodice and petticoat are also used by young women. The more fashionable among them have adopted the modern style of wearing sari. As such, in some families a mother and a daughter may represent two modes of dressing, the traditional and the modern.

ANDHRA PRADESH

Byrlutigudem village in Kurnool district (West)

It is a tribal village amid thick forest inhabited by Chenchus. Men of the older generation continue to stick to tradition by using a strip of cloth passed in between the legs, with its two ends secured by a waist-string. The younger generation is taking to wearing of shirt. Women simply wind round the waist a short sari which does not reach beyond the knees. A short blouse-like garment called *ravika* is worn. Its ends are secured by a front knot. It is noteworthy that non-tribal women of the adjoining hilly area do not generally wear any blouse or *ravika,* whereas the Chenchu women invariably wear an upper garment. In wearing the sari, the Chenchus take the free end of the sari to the right shoulder.

Palvampalle village in Chittoor district (South)

This tribal village is predominantly populated by Lambadis, also known as Sugalis. Traditionally cattle rearers, now some have taken up agriculture. The men wear knee-length dhoti and shirt and use red and white coloured turban. Silver belts can be seen around their waist and golden rings in their ears. On festive occasions they put on coat and other colourful dresses. The women wear picturesque garments dominated by red colour (Fig. 47). A richly embroidered *lehnga* of coarse red cotton prints hangs from the waist with ample pleats. Small pieces of broken mirrors are fixed and stitched all over the garment. Even the belt that girdles the waist shines with glass embroidery work. On the right side, a cord ornamented with cowries and beads slings down the length of the skirt along the thigh. They wear *kanchadi (choli)* which is colourfully embroidered in front and on the shoulders and the attached glass mirrors keep dazzling the eyes. It is tied at the back by tapes whose ends are decorated with cowries and beads. An embroidered *chantia (orhni)* of red colour is carelessly thrown over the head and the shoulder covering the tattooed back. Its one end is tucked at the waist into the left side of the *lehnga.* The Lambadi women's love for embroidered dress keeps their leisure time busy at needle work.

TAMIL NADU

Nanjanad village in Nilgiris district (West)

In this village and around it in the hilly forest region of Ootacamund are Toda hamlets. Fig. 48 depicts the dress of a Toda couple *Poothukuli,* the main garment, is wrapped round the body in a cocoon-like fashion. It is a thick white cloth (4.6m by 1.6m) with one or two vertical bars of red, blue or black colour woven into it at the ends. It has embroidered work over it. Underneath the *poothukuli* men and women wrap a cloth. Men wear this inner garment by taking it round the waist and tucking the free end at the left side. The cloth falls straight from the waist and reaches below the knees. Women wrap it higher by passing the upper edge around the body under the armpits. Men wear *poothukuli* by first wrapping it round the waist so that the lower edge lies about the knees. Then it is drawn under or over the right arm with the free end terminating at the left shoulder over which it is allowed to hang loosely. The garment fully covers the upper part of the body up to the throat or chin, displaying the coloured vertical bars at the front or on the left side. In a sitting position the *poothukuli* envelops the entire body. It is the only covering to be used at night. The women wear the *poothukuli* not as gracefully as the men do. They merely throw it around the shoulders and envelop their whole frame. It is wrapped in a way that neither the neck nor the feet are visible. The characteristic coloured bars appear to flow down the body at the front. The garment is made out of a long coarse cotton cloth which is folded in two layers. These are sewn together at the edges. It makes the garment thicker and easily manageable.

Nellitharai village in Coimbatore district (West)

Fig. 47

Fig. 48

The village is located at the foot of the majestic blue hills of the Nilgiris. Though the village has a multi-ethnic composition, the Irulas (the second largest tribe in Tamil Nadu) form 60 per cent of the village population. They live in interior forest settlements in groups of 10 to 15 households. The Okkaligas, the next largest village group, has a dominant voice in village affairs. The dress of the Irula men is like that of the lower

income groups. They wear a *langoti* around the loins and keep a towel over the shoulder. Some wear shirt or hosiery vest. The Irula women are distinguishable by their dress. They wrap a sari-like cloth around their waist. The free end of the drapery is drawn over the bosom horizontally and tied with a knot near the left armpit. The upper part of the chest, neck and shoulders are left bare. No blouse or jacket is worn. The Okkaligas are better dressed. The men use a *vesti* (short dhoti) and sling a towel on the shoulder. Many wear shirts. Their women wear sari (5.5m to 8.2m) and blouse. When they use a 8.2m long sari they tuck in the pleats at the back of the waist and throw the free end over the left shoulder. When women of younger generation wear a sari of 5.5m length, the pleats are placed in the front.

Koottumangalam village in Kanya Kumari district (South)

In the southernmost part of India at the peninsular tip lies the multi-ethnic village of Koottumangalam predominantly inhabited by Nadars and Krishnanvagais (devoted to lord Krishna). There are also Nairs and Mudaliars. Among Nadars and Mudaliars some are Christians. The common dress consists of *mundu* of 3.7m around the waist and a towel either tied round the head or thrown across the shoulder. The majority of the people go bare bodied above the waist except on festive occasions when they use a shirt. The well-to-do people wear *banian* or shirt. Women wear a sari of 7.3m and a blouse. The old women use only sari. Nair women dress differently, and their mode of wear resembles the Kerala style. They wrap *mundu* (1.8m length) around their waist and wear a *choli*. Whenever they go out of their house they use a third article of dress known as *neriyatu*. It is a cloth of 1.8 m length which is thrown over the shoulder, covering the upper part of the body.

PONDICHERRY

Therunallar village in Karaikal area

Karaikal, 160 km south of Pondicherry, is a part of the Union Territory of Pondicherry. It is a pilgrim centre surrounded by Shiva shrines. The village has a multi-ethnic composition, of Brahmins and Pillais, Naidus, Chettiars, Mudaliars, Nadars, Nairs, Christians and Muslims. Religion does not make any distinction in dress. The common dress for men is dhoti (without kachcha) either handloom or mill-made, shirt and banian. Brahmins of Iyer and Iyengar sects who serve as priests wear dhoti with kachcha. The mode of wearing is known as panchagachcham.

Women, other than those of the Brahmin community, wear sari of 8.2m in length of which the free end (pallav) is placed on the left shoulder. Elderly women in Brahmin and Pillai communities wear silk saris on important occasions. They wear the sari in the traditional *madisaru* style in which the portion between the knees and the ankles on both the legs have the appearance of the bifurcated garment like pyjamas. In the *madisaru* style of Iyer Brahmins the pyjamas-like appearance is on the right leg while on the left leg a number of pleats hang down from the waist. The free end of the sari always rests on the right shoulder. Young woman belonging to Iyer and Iyengar sects wear *madisaru* style only on important occasions.

When Karaikal was a free-port under the French regime, foreign cloth was freely

imported and all well-to-do familiis used to wear foreign varieties of cloth. Now better Indian varieties are in vogue.

KERALA

Edamon village in Quilon district (South)

Amid dense forests on the slope of the Western Ghats is the village 66 krn from Quilon. The region is famous for tea and rubber plantations. Hindus form the majority, Christians come next, followed by Muslims. Most men, irrespective of their community wear *mundu*. A few older people like to have, in addition, a shawl. Men who work in the fields have a dhoti and a cloth tied round their head or slung over one of the shoulders. Those who work in the estates use shorts and a *banian (west).*

A good number of young women wear sari and blouse, but the elderly women manage the sari alone without a blouse, taking care that the upper part of the body is well covered. Most women wear *mundu* along with a blouse. There is also a third style of dress comprising a *mundu,* a blouse and a *neriatu.* Women prefer deep coloured saris; red, yellow and green being the favourite colours. Christian ladies dress like Hindu women, thus their mode of dress is very different from the traditional costume worn by Christian women in other places. They have started putting vermilion mark on their forehead in imitation of their Hindu counterparts. As usual, in Kerala there is no custom among the Hindu and Christian women to cover their heads. The Muslim women sometimes wear check lungi-like lower garment and a full-sleeved blouse. When they go out, the simple short wrap is replaced by a long dhoti which is worn like a *mundu* after doubling it by folding lengthwise. In addition they use a cloth to keep their head covered. When they wear a sari, the free end (*pallu*) is used to cover the head. Muslim women never use the third style of dress in which a *neriyatu* is sported.

Chapter XI

Dance Costumes

There is a rich tradition of dance in India. Among the best known schools of classical dance are the Bharata Natyam of south India, the Kathakali of Kerala, the Kathak of north India, the Manipuri of Manipur in eastern India, the Kuchipudi of Andhra and the Odissi of Orissa. The dance costume has a cultural and traditional aspect, an aesthetic notion and a functional side. Though the traditional prescriptions play a dominant role, yet in some dances like the Bharata Natyam the great danseuses, who are considered brilliant exponents of their art, have some say in the choice of costume.

Bharata Natyam

Bharata Natyam was originally the dance of the *devadasis* who danced before the idols of temples in south India. At a very late stage this dance was secularised and patronized at courts very far from its southern home. The costume comprised a *choli*, tight-fitting trousers and a sari. The sari was wrapped round the waist at least once. About 60 to 90 cm of a surplus portion of one end was turned into pleats which were tucked in at the waist. The other end was drawn over the breast to the left shoulder, over the back and under the right armpit and brought forward to the left side where the ornamental end was so secured that it appeared dangling as a dress-improver partially in front and partially at the left waist. The lower end of a portion of the front pleats was passed between the legs and tucked in at the back so that the sari over the trousers also became a divided garment. This classical dance has been aesthetically revived in a prestigeous cultural setting by the contemporary exponents of the art. The costume of the dance has undergone certain modifications as depicted in (Fig. 49). The short *choli* is replaced by a blouse-like costume properly covering the upper part of the female form. For the lower part a 8.2m (9 yds) sari is used, one portion of the sari is taken over the breast and over the left shoulder and brought forward from under the right armpit. The ornamental breadthwise border is pulled tightly to the front centre or to the left waist where, after a little tucking in, the remaining portion of the end is spread out for display. After the formation of the front pleats, the lower end is tigthly brought back to provide a posterior tuck. This divides the garment and drapes the legs like *churidar*. It allows free and independent movement to each leg. This, however, takes away the natural grace of free-flowing frontal pleats. Some artistes make up the deficiency by adding sewn-up pleats. The frontal pleats add beauty to the movements. In a variety of dance postures, for instance, like the one with the feet a little apart and the knees bent outwards, the frontal pleats spread out, in an arc like a beautiful fan. Some dancers leave adequate frontal pleats even after the posterior tuck. This style consumes the whole length of the 8.2m sari for draping the lower part alone. Sometimes a scarf or *orhni* is used to drape the upper part of the body like a sari. It covers the open abdominal region and the bosom.

Fig. 49

Its end is tied on the left side providing a small dangling flap. A small fan-shaped jewelry just at the frontal end of the parting of hair, simple neck and arm ornaments, the *nupurs* at the ankles, a little colerium in the eyes and dangling braided hair add beauty to the classical performance.

Kathakali

Kathakali is a dance drama of dynamic nature based on mythological themes. The mask-like make-up accentuates the expression of the rolling eyes, the dark eyebrows and the face. In this dance the make-up of the male characters is as important as the costume (Fig. 50). A thick paste of rice soaked in water and mixed with a little lime is used for the mask-like white ridge following the line of the cheekbone. While the make-up-artist is laying the rice paste layer after layer on the face, the actor lies on his back on a mat and the job takes about three hours. The eyebrows and eyelashes are thickly blackened and elongated, the lips are painted red and the corners of the mouth are given touches of a smiling face. The eyes are reddened by the application of the stamen of the *chunda* plant. For divine characters, kings and heroes, the face is painted uniform green. For Ravana, *asura* and unscrupulous men a moustachelike pattern of red with white borders is traced on the face and a white knob of pith is fixed to the tip of the nose. The gilded headgear consists of a crown with a halo-like disc attached to the back. Heavy ornaments decorate the ears, neck, shoulders, forearms and waist. A heavy breast plate is fixed on the chest. A red jacket of wool or cotton, open at the back, covers the upper part of the body. Two or three long white scarves and a red one, ending in formations resembling 'lotus blooms', hang from the neck up to the waist. These 'lotus blooms' conceal mirrors which the actors occasionally use to check their make-up. A voluminous white skirt with wide flair formed of several layers reach down to the calves. Pads with number of bells are tied round the calves of both the legs. Lord Krishna dons a blue-black jacket and an orange coloured skirt while the halo-like attachment is removed and peacok feathers are fixed at the top of the crown.

Young boys play the role of feminine characters. A piece of cotton wadding is placed on the head which is covered by a

veil hanging down to the waist. A tight-fitting jacket open at the back, ankle-length white cotton cloth with graceful folds, all types of ornaments and a breast plate with two rounded elevations complete the female costume.

Kathak

Kathak, the court dance of the Mughals, is characterised by its lightning footwork and quick whirls. The costume consists of trousers closely fitting the legs, a silk or satin embroidered skirt of large dimensions flowing down to the ankles, and a full-sleeved blouse or kneelength tunic. A piece of gauze cloth is tightly wrapped round-the upper body and ornaments are profusely displayed.

Fig. 50

Manipuri

This alluring dance-form is characterised by its slow rhythmic steps and exquisitely graceful movements. Krishna, Radha and the *gopis* are the favourite subject. A bell-shaped wide skirt tied round the waist, called *kumil*, is the basic lower garment for feminine roles (Fig. 5.1). A little more than half the lower length of the *kumil* is stiffened from within. It does not flow with the body movements nor does it spread out like a flower when the dancer takes a whirl. The wide, stiffly-formed lower portion allows ample room for footwork and leg and knee movement besides producing its own rhythmic sway. Myriads of small mirrors form the main motif for the embroidery on the skirt. A short wavy upper skirt made of gauze-like material is tied at the waist over the *kumil*. It only covers the upper portion of the *kumil*.

The lower edge of this garment is brilliantly decorated with mirrors. The upper garment consists of a half-sleeved tight-fitting blouse. A thin gauze veil over a cone-shaped headdress falls round the shoulders and completely covers the face. This angular lift of the veil accentuates the graceful turns of the head. Two decorated and embroidered stiff flaps, one attached to the cross shoulderband and the other to the waistband, fall on the right and front of the dancer. Radha wears red *kumil* and *gopis* wear green.

Fig. 51

Krishna and cowherd boys wear a saffron coloured dhoti with green border. The bare upper part of the body has two cross shoulder-bands at the ends of which hang two stiff flaps. A third flap hanging in front is attached to a belt tied round the waist. These gilded flaps studded with mirrors send out scintillating reflections of light with every movement.

Kuchipudi

In its formative stage, Kuchipudi was influenced by techniques of devotional dances of the *devadasis*, devotional dance dramas of the age and the secular dances of *raj-nartakis*. When the high order of the *devadasis* deteriorated, Brahmin *gurus* and experts of the dance established themselves in the Andhra village called Kuchipudi (from where the dance gets its name) so as to preserve the art and its original purity. Among the mythological themes of the dance, the incident dealing with the love pangs of Satyabhama for lord Krishna has remained very popular. Like Bharata Natyam, the pure dance movements are arranged to various timing and embellished by fascinating lyric forms. Much of the old costumes and make-up of the dance drama have been retained in Andhra. It creates a colourful stylised atmosphere of the ancient period. In one style the whole sari is draped tightly around the waist and the legs give an appearance of a bifurcated garment. The decorated free end is then fully spread out and tucked into the waist to cover the whole front from the waist to the knees. A short blouse with sleeves covering half the upper arm clings to the body. A broad silver girdle fringed with tinkling little bells and one or two decorative chains encircle the waist over the sari. A broad silver necklet with a hanging cluster of chains having bells at their ends grace the neck and the breast. Various silver ornaments of the head, arms and ankles and nupurs embellish the sartorial appearance. In another style a sari with a broad shining broder is worn in the usual manner with its end tucked in on the left side of the waist so that the decorative portion rests on the left thigh. Sometimes simple ornaments are selected with care so that they may heighten the elegance but not encumber the intricate movements of the dance.

Odissi

Odissi or Orissi, the classical dance of Orissa, is based on pure dance technique like the Bharata Natyam. Puri

and Bhubaneshwar are the best cultural centres of this art. The bas-reliefs of the temples of these two places and the Sun Temple at Konark have preserved thousands of examples of the techniques of the art. The style of wearing the sari depends on the choice of the danseuses. The popular style is to wear the sari to flow from the waist to the feet in the Kuchipudi manner without allowing the free end of the sari to rise above the waist. The decorative end is so fixed that its pleats fall loosely from the left hip or the navel, reaching below the knee. The decorative short blouse or *choli* is embellished at the neckline by a jewelled necklet. Ornamental girdle, head-pendant, armlets, bracelets, *nupurs* and flowers in the hair complete the ensemble. Sometimes an *orhni* is made part of the costume. Its centre is placed at the nape of the neck and the two ends flow down on either side at the front. It is kept in position by passing a girdle over it at the waist.

Chapter XII

Coiffures and Cosmetics

Women of ancient india had experimented with almost all varieties of hairstyles to suit every age and every face. They hardly missed any novel idea that we can think of. All these various styles can be classed into a few basic patterns. The hair is coiled or rolled into a bun; braided into plaits; knotted to form a loop; or simply allowed to dangle as free tresses. Other styles emerged out of the combination of different patterns and placement and size of the formations. When this artistry is further embellished with flowers, wreaths, chaplets, nets, scarfs, strings of pearls and jewelled adornments, more styles appear on the scene. Anyone who sees these hairstyles as depicted in ancient sculptures and displayed in the Ajanta frescos will be struck with amazement by their rich variety and beauty.

A head of a woman figure found in Mohenjodaro shows curly hair hanging in a mass at the back. Some figures of goddesses of the Harappan period have plaits with a bow at the end. The famous dancing girl wears her coiffure coiled in a heavy mass which starts from above the left ear and falls over the right shoulder. In most of the figurines hair is concealed under big headdresses. Women in the Vedic age wore their hair in different styles, each style having a special term. In the *opasa* (top-knot) style, the hair was arranged in a loose top-knot forming a dome-like cap. In the *kaparda* (braided) style young women formed four plaits which either dangled at the back or were coiled up at the top of the head. The *kurira* was probably a horn-shaped coiffure. A veil or scarf might have been hung from the crest of the coiffure giving an elegant triangular lift to the cloth in the Banjara style. *Kumba* might be the modern *khompa*, the name for a bun.

One of the hairstyles of the Mauryan period may be judged from the Didarganj *yakshini* figure whose loose hair is allowed to fall at the back with the end looped and knotted in two rounds. Bharhut sculptures of the Sunga period depict several hairstyles. The commonest style is to comb back the hair into a roundish bun with a knot close to the nape or head or ear. In another style the hair is allowed to sling a short length on the back before the end is looped and knotted (Fig. 52-1). This hair-do is embellished with a flower wreath placed at the back of the head in the form of a ring. In the plaited (*veni* or *praveni*) style the hair falling dwon the back is divided into four equal parts to form two rope-like plaits, each having two lengths of hair woven under and over one another. Women are also found displaying four or more plaits. To keep them in place bands are tied round the head and the plaits (Fig. 52-2). Sometimes a net is put on them. It resembles an Iranian hairstyle. Many women of this period were more interested in headdresses than in hairstyles. The hair was coiled and knotted at the top so as to facilitate the wearing of a turban.

The Sanchi sculptures of the Satavahana period provide glimpses of some eye-

1

2

3

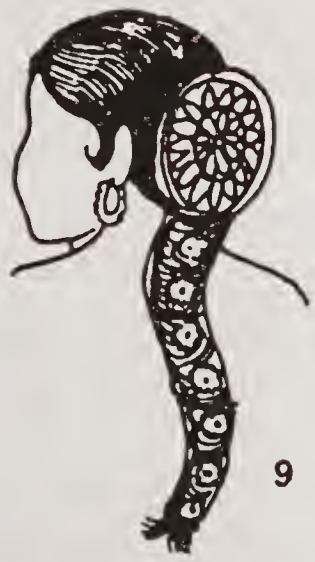
4

5

6

7

8


9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

Fig. 52

catching styles. A lady has a broad tuft of hair like a big disc raised over the head and tied with a wreath so tightly as to form a narrow joint between the 'disc' and the head (Fig. 52-3). This style again became popular in the 8th and 9th centuries. In that age even men fancifully piled up their hair in this feminine form (Fig. 8). Another figure shows three parallel loops projecting upwards over the forehead and bound round by a beaded wreath (Fig. 52-4). In another style the entire surface of the bun is covered with tiny rignlets of hair. In the 'peacock' style the hair is arranged on top of the head like a peacock crest with plaited hair running along either side of the head. In one of the styles a looped coiffure provides a beautiful knot at the back of the head with a loop projecting upwards and its free end dangling down. The Sanchi figures do not reveal the long dangling plaits (*praveni*) like those found in the sculptures of later period. When the hair is plaited it is kept short.

Foreign influence is quite distinct on hairstyles represented in Gandhara sculptures. Most favoured hairstyle of Greek origin is the coiffure arranged on the occiput in the shape of a spiral (Fig. 52-5). Bands of cloth are wound round the head to support a metal plate inside the hair. The fashion of wearing chaplets, strings of beads or nets of pearls over the coiffure was quite common. One sculptured figure wears a top-knot and the remaining mass of hair is allowed to fall on the back in curly waves (Fig. 52-6). The hair is either brushed backward or parted in the middle or at the sides. The hairstyles of Mathura sculptures of Kushan period provide copious varieties like long hair dangling on the back, with protruded knot on the forehead; hair parted on the left side and combed into a pendulous cylindrical bun and secured in a pearl net; hair gathered at the back in a cloth bag; hair twisted into spirals in receding tiers (Fig. 52-7); hair plaited into two pig-tails joined by their tips; and knotted hair with fan-shaped projections. In fig. 52-8 the loose hair is combed and folded into a long loop resting on the nape of the back and flower wreaths are tied round near the occiput.

In the sculptures of Amaravati, the buns are displayed in various styles. Hair arrangements are decked with flowers or decorated with jewels. Sometimes the bun drops a lock of hair to dangle on the back from the nape. The bun may sometimes take an elongated shape at a right angle to the occiput. A loose bun knotted in a loop formation is quite common. The *praveni* style had more admirers during this period, particularly in the south. The long strip of braided hair terminating in tassels is sometimes embellished with a jewelled strip running along its whole length. Kalidas has compared it to the beautiful stream of Yamuna dotted with golden flamingoes.

In Nagarjunakonda sculptures, plaited hair dangling down almost to the hips appear to be the most favourite style among the women. The braided hair is usually tagged with tassels and adorned with flowers. The coiffures are decorated with a diadem or an ornamental boss ringed by flowers (Fig. 52-9). Sometimes the plait originated from the rear end of *simanta* (parting line at the middle of the hair) instead of from the back of the head. This mode is a variant of *praveni* style and allows the plait to lift up a little over the head like a pony-tail and then sling down on one side of the face. The buns offer different styles by their various placements and projections.

The sculptures and the Ajanta frescos of the Gupta-Venkata period delight in representing varieties of coiffures. The mass of hair is so distributed over the head, nape

of the neck and shoulders that it gives a picturesque effect to the face. Here for the first time curled locks (*alaka*) and curly ringlets (*churnakuntala*) have been used with great artistic skill. Even asymmetrical patterns where the hair dressing of one side is different from the other enhance beauty. All types of hair ornamentation come into play. In one style, the mass of hair descends down to dangle freely over the shoulders with cork-screw curls trickling down over the forehead. A silken or ornamental band may encircle the loose hair near the nape. Free tresses are sometimes arranged in long curly coils dangling at the back. One of the favourite styles appearing on the frescos is to comb the hair into a bun allowing a few curly ringlets to hang freely on the back or to float in the air (Fig. 52-10). In another style the hair is coiled over the head on the right side and covered with a beautifully designed hair-net in a slanting manner and the looped knot is placed on the left side (Fig. 52-11).

In one of the asymmetrical stryles the hair is parted in the middle and combed down into two parts. One part is twisted into a pendulous spiral which is encased into a net or interwoven with pearl strings. The other part on the other side is let fall on the shoulders as free tresses. Of a similar type is the style which has a bun on the left side and free tresses curling down on the right shoulder (Fig. 52-12). There is an interesting style (Fig. 51-13) in which the hair is parted into two parts and each portion on either side is twisted into a formation which looks like a hanging bun below the ear with suspended locks resting on the shoulders. It gives the impression of a big *jhumka* (ear-pendant). In this hairstyle a few curly ringlets are allowed to fall on the left side of the forehead to induce charms in the face. In Fig. 52-14, the whole coiffure profusely decorated with tiara, chaplets and flowers looks very chic. Some women in Ajanta murals appear in bobbed hair. This style may have a foreign origin. In other styles the hair is arranged in one or double top-knots surmounted by jewelled ratai.

The eighth century sculptures from Pattadakal show certain new hairstyles. A 'halo' coiffure came into fashion in the south (Fig. 52-15). It is a big padded bun placed on top of the head looking like an inverted pot. In some styles the hair is piled in several top-knots or formed like a horn curving from the back to the front. The temple sculptures of Bhubaneshwar give an idea how women fashioned their coiffures from the eighth to the thirteenth century. In one of the styles the hair is rolled in the shape of a sausage and then strapped in the middle by a band of locks (Fig. 52-16). An ornamental band is placed at the hairline which is fringed by curly rings of hair adorning the forehead.

In this brief review, only a small number of female hairstyles which came into fashion in different periods and in different regions have been described. The fascinating varieties were indeed endless. It is, however, noteworthy that certain common patterns were repeated in every age and at every place whether it happened to be Bharhut or Sanchi in Madhya Pradesh, Gandhara in the north-west, Mathura in Uttar Pradesh. Amaravati or Nagarjunakonda in Andhra Pradesh, Pattadakal in Karnataka, or Bhubaneshwar in Orissa.

Men in ancient India were no less interested in caring about their hairstyles but their varieties were neither as numerous nor as intricate as that of the women. The sculptures of male figures reveal that the hair was arranged in spherical knot on the top or on one side or on the forehead; gathered upwards in conical shape; formed in imitation of

peacock feathers: coiled up in several tiers; given a wig-like appearance; tied into a bow-knot: or curled in various forms. Some men kept long hair dangling on the shoulders and some had clean-shaven head. In some rare cases men piled up the hair in a feminine fashion.

The use of cosmetics is very ancient. All old cultures had developed cosmetics. Among the finds of the Indus Valley civilization mention may be made of kohl pots and sticks; very small faience vessels, may be for bottling perfumes; face paints in cockle-shells; carbonate of lead, may be to whiten the face; lumps of a green substance, may be used in the manner of *kohl* for the eyes; and a small stick of rouge,may be for colouring the lips or cheeks. Vedic literature makes frequent references to eye salve (*anjana*) and various kinds of ointments and perfumes. Articles of perfumes such as sandalwood, myrrh, camphor and others were supposed to be endowed with magical properties.

In the succeeding ages the use of cosmetics continued unabated according to the vagaries of fashion. The corners of the eyes were elongated by the use of collyrium, the cheeks were painted with designs, the face was anointed and powdered and the body and hair were treated with perfumes and essential oils. Several designs may be found on the face of female figures in Bharhut. *Yakshini* Chanda has the imprint of sun and moon on her cheekbones and flowers on her cheeks and chin. One of the figures has a small bird above each breast. Marks of stars, flowers and *ankush* (elephant-goad) are found painted on the face or arms of other figures.

Anointing the body with scented oil or unguent before the bath was a common practice. Ancient medical treatises recommend the use of oil for the luxurious growth of hair and a glossy softness of the skin. The ordinary scented oil was obtained from sesame seeds already scented with flowers. A richer variety was obtained with the aid of sandalwood, cinnamon, saffron, myrrh, and flowers like jasmine, *tagara* and *vakula*. Application of sandalwood paste to the face was considered efficacious to prevent its disfigurement by pimples and to enhance its beauty. The use of collyrium for staining the eyes was believed to increase the range of vision, further the growth of eyelashes, cleanse the eyes and impart a brilliant lustre to the pupils. Rouge, red mineral or lac-dye was used for the lips and cheeks. Young women kept their teeth pearl-white. Some stained them red comparable with the colour of lotus petals. Ghee mixed with turmeric, saffron or other colouring material made a very good paste for painting or anointing the body. Lac was used to colour the feet.

The works of Kalidasa (5th century) and Bana (7th century) vividly describe how the people loved to decorate themselves during the age of the Guptas and Sri Harsha by making luxuriant use of cosmetics and other decorative material. The women effected their toilet in a lavish manner and used different kinds of cosmetics according to different seasons. During summer they painted their body with sandal paste and wore sandal lines on their forehead: during rainy season they used sandalwood and black agallochum paste: at the end of winter they preferred zeodary paste: in spring they anointed their body with sandal paste mixed with musk, zeodary and saffron and adorned their face with dotted lines in different patterns. During the Gupta and Harsha period lips were painted with lac-dye, eyes with collyrium and face and forehead in white, red and black

colour. For painting designs the chest, arms and temples were besmeared with sandal paste and then patterns were painted in white agallochum, *gorochana*, saffron and red lead. *Makarika*, wheel, flower and foliage were the popular designs.

Even officers of the state spruced themselves up in the fashion of the age. They painted their forehead with *gorochana*, made their hair sleek with oil and *myrobalan*, heightened the glow of their lips by the application of betel, imparted brilliance to their eyes by the use of collyrium and stuck a bunch of flowers into their top-knot.

Flowers were an important accessory in the Indian toilet. It was a common practice to wear garlands of fragrant flowers and use sprays for tucking into the coiffures. The women knew the use of appropriate flowers for decorating the different parts of the body. Their choice changed from season to season. At one place, for instance, mention has been made of women making use of different kinds of flowers: *kunda* wreathed round the head; *kurabaka* stuck in the top-knot; *kadamba* placed at the parting of the hair; *sirisa* decorating the ears; garland of *bakula* adorning the neck and breast; pollen of *lodhra* emitting a yellow glow from the face; bangles of flowers enhancing the beauty of the hands; and a lotus held in the hand. It was the time when life looked like a season of flowers.

Chapter XIII

Traditional Ornaments

"Loveliness needs not the foreign aid of ornament,
But is when unadorn'd, adorn'd the most."

—James Thomson

There may not be many who will vote for the sentiment expressed in this verse, perhaps because ornaments and jewelry have various roles to play. Besides enhancing beauty, the personal adornments symbolise status, wealth and assets, excite the sense of prized possession, titillate aesthetic satisfaction, display the craftsmanship that go into their creation and continue an age old tradition. Gold has been the most coveted and valued metal for ornaments since its first discovery, probably, in Mesopotamia before 3000 B.C. Its malleability is a great help in craftsmanship so that when it is beaten it gains in surface what it loses in thickness. Gold is regarded as a sacred metal and it is not considered proper to wear any below the waist as this would be an indignity to the holy metal. Next to gold, silver is the metal most widely used, generally for economic reasons and chromatic effect. Gems are used alone or along with precious metals. Pearls, amber and coral belong to animal and vegetable products. Precious stones include diamonds, rubies, emeralds, sapphires, topaz and zircon. Diamond has the highest refractive index and its Indian deposits were known in ancient times. A branch of astrology assigns specific stones to particular individuals according to their astral needs. Stones are said to have magical properties.

The Indus Valley civilization represents the high degree of development attained by the art of jewelry-making. It was one of the most magnificent of early civilizations where polychrome jewelry was lavishly used. A women's girdle of beads for wearing from the waist to the groin has been found in Harappa. It is amazing proof of the Harappans love for colourful ornaments and their skill of designing them. The beads comprise red cornelian, green steatite, jasper, faience, amazonite from Gujarat, jade from Central Asia and lapis lazuli from Afghanistan. A few terracotta figurines show floral or V-shaped objects at the top of the forehead. It could be that the women used to wear *tikuli*-like ornaments. Ears of the female figures are invariably found concealed under heavy headdresses or plaited hair and, therefore, it is not certain whether the circular rings found from the actual diggings were used as earrings. Some figurines wear both types of neck-ornaments — the close-fitting ornamental collars and beaded necklaces of two or three strings. Ornaments for the arm and the hand appear to be very popular. The bronze statuette of a young girl from Mohenjodaro standing in a half impudent posture has coils of bangles that adorn the left arm from below the armpit down to the wrist as against the two armlets and two bangles round the right upper arm and wrist respectively. Anklets

in the form of curved rings made up on hollow tube can be seen on pottery figurines.

The Rigveda mentions several ornaments. *Karnasobhana* was an ornament that decorated the ear and could have been made of gold. The *kurira* was a kind of head-ornament for women and *khadi* a ring-like circular ornament was worn as armlet or anklet. *Nishka* was a gold necklace may be of coins, and *rukma* was a breast ornament. *Mani* which could be a pearl or a diamond was worn round the neck. Both men and women used necklaces, girdle chains, armlets, anklets and rings.

Only when we come to the Mauryan and Sunga period do we get a clear picture or typical ornaments and jewelry in common use. The sculpted figures of gods and goddesses, kings and queens and the common people display these ornaments from top to toe. The head, the forehead, the ears, the nose, the neck, the breast, the arms, the wrists, the fingers, the waist, the hips, the legs, the feet, the toes — nothing is overlooked. Hiller appreciatively writes, "So happy is the architecture of the human form that the very places where the ornament naturally fitted were probably the best of all places which could have been found." Apparently the royalty, the aristocracy and the rich could afford such luxurious and precious articles. But the commoners did not lag behind to imitate the styles though the ornaments they wore were lesser in number and different in material, design and workmanship.

A study of these sculptural depictions along with contemporary literature show that the ornaments worn in different periods had a striking similarity. The traditional style continued from age to age with some changes here and there in fashion, design and material. Some new items were added now and then. During Kushan period fish, bird and animal figures crept into the motifs. The profuse ornaments of various designs of the Gupta period indicate the flourishing condition of jewellers art. They specialised in cutting and polishing diamonds, rubies and precious stones. Fa-hien found gold, silver and precious ornaments much in use even by the common people. But during all this time the ornament for the nose was missing. It appeared on the scene during the seventh century. It was perhaps first used by the coastal people of Malabar who might have borrowed it from the Arabs who were trading with them.

Under the patronage of the Palas, the Senas, the Chalukyas and the Cholas heavy and eleborate ornaments, unlike the Guptas, became the fashion. By 10th century the jewellery was elaborately worked out. The art of making ornaments developed further, particularly in the south, in the 11th and the 12th centuries. Chiselled gorgeousness, intricate patterns, lavish workmanship and deep oblique cuts for displaying contrast of light and shade, introduced a new style which, however, did not match the elegance and the simple and lovely feel of earlier times. After the advent of Muslim influence, a unique transformation came about in the sartorial style. New values of decency and decorum took hold of the mind of the people. The body was dressed and draped as much as possible. The thorax, the limbs, the head and even the face in case of women were not allowed to be left bare. Ornaments lost much of its parade ground. But still, the major population continued the tradition, though now the number of items were reduced and glamour of these ornate articles with new names got subdued against the background of colourful dresses. The British period only helped to strengthen this new trend.

Some of the different types of ornaments adorning different parts of the body, as displayed on sculptures and terracottas, are described below.

Head Ornaments

Ornaments for the head variously fashioned were used to grace turbans, lace the coiffures and festoon the forehead. They were used as an integral part of the headdress. Fig. 53-1 shows a thin band made of a row of pearls, beads and gems with a pendant hanging from the centre. *Lalatika*, a detached ornament for the forehead, has been referred to by Panini. A precious gem-like object of a disc-like shape was suspended by a chain passing through the parting of the hair and fixed into the knot of the hair at the back. The Didarganj *yaskhini* sports this ornament (Fig. 2). Ajanta panels also show them. Tiaras and *tikuli* fall in this category. Among the jewels worn on the head, *Chudamani* and *makarika* attract notice. The first type is mostly seen as a jewelled strip running all along the plaited hair allowed to dangle on the back. The second type is a mythical fish-crocodile decoration seen adorning the head. In the Kushan period kings portrayed on the coins wear some sort of head-ornaments. Fa-hien confirms the use of diamonds and crowns studded with jewels. The Ajanta paintings provide representations of various types of jewelled crowns (kirita). Two types can be distinguised in Buddhist as well as Brahmanical figures. *Kirita-mukuta* was a conical cap of costly metal surmounted by an ornamental knob and having a central motif or a large jewel in front. The *Karandamukuta* was like an inverted bowl or basket with simpler decorations.

Ear Ornaments

It is an old tradition to perforate the lobes and sides of the ears. *Karnavedha* (perforation of the ear) was regarded as a ceremony. The wearing of heavy and broad ornaments resulted in distended ear-lobes. It was considered a sign of beauty and greatness. Men were as much fascinated with ear-ornaments as women. Sanskrit literature distinguishes five types of ear-ornaments according to their shapes. The *patra-kundla* was made of cones of coconut or palmyra leaves. *Shankha-patra-kundla* was formed out of conch shell. *Sarpa-kundla* was fashioned like a cobra and *makara-kundla* like a fish-crocodile figure and both were formed out of metal, ivory or wooden piece. *Ratna-kundla* was a bejewelled item. Some earlier sculptures shown ear-ornaments of a tabular form inserted into the big holes made in the lobes of the ears. They could be polished pegs of wood or hollow metal (Fig. 3). Common types of ear-ornaments found in the sculptures are: (a) circular metal ring, (be) disc shaped ornaments overlaid with foliage like devices as seen in Bharhut, Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda and Ajanta, (c) metal ball set with gems suspended up to the shoulders, (d) spiral like metal ring, (e) half-blown flower of metal suspended from the ear-lobes; (f) suspended ornament resembling the inverted cup of the lotus, similar to modern jhumka, (g) large metal ring from which is suspended a group of strings or pearls and beads with tasselled terminals, and (h) ornaments copying favourite floral or animal forms. The *Natyashastra* refers to *kundla* (round earring), *karnika* (flowerlike ear pendant), *karnamudra* (round ear-tops) and *karnotilaka* (drum shaped piece).

Neck Ornaments

The neck ornaments represented on the sculptures or in the reliefs are in plenty and

Fig. 53

appear on the persons of all ranks and status. They can be classed as necklaces (*haras*) worn loosely round the neck or as necklets (*kanthis*) which fit the neck very closely (Fig. 53-2). Each type of string necklace depends on the basic principle applied to its design: whether it consists of one, two, three or more strings or rows of beads, pearls or gems; whether they have globular, ovoidal or other shapes; whether they display different sizes and shapes in different rows; whether they are closely threaded or properly spaced; whether they are exquisitely fitted between two large metallic rings with a clasp to be fixed near the nape of the neck or whether there is a round, oblong or rectangular locket suspended from the centre. In a multi-string necklace one common style was to keep one row of beads close to the neck, allow some to fall over the breast region or dangle in between the breast (Fig. 2) and in some cases the length reached upto the navel. It may be remembered that ornaments were used not only as decorative pieces but also as a part of dress. The focus was on the glamour of the ornaments and not on the gloss of the skin.

The metallic necklaces made of gold, silver and other metals were formed in the shape of strings, plaited cords, chains or thin bands and some displayed lockets or circular discs. The rich could embellish these ornaments with gems and precious stones. They sometimes bore floral designs and criss-cross patterns. The use of twisted chain appeared for the first time during Kushan period. Coins presumably of gold, are also found strung on silken thread or golden cord. The coin necklace (*nishka*) has a very old tradition and is still in vogue in villages. Necklaces made of metal pieces in the shape of mangoes (Fig. 53-3) or jasmine buds were also prevalent. The golden necklet of today is a survival of ancient *kanthis*, a flattened circular ornament. It resembles very much the *hasuli* worn in villages. *Yajnopavitas* composed of pearls (*mukta-yajnopavita*) may be found in the sculptures of the southern region. One very interesting ornament is the *channavira* made of two plaited gold cords worn crosswise on the torso, one crossing the body from left shoulder to the right waist and the other from right shoulder to the left waist (Fig. 12). A flat disc or an ornament is sometimes placed on their junction near the centre of the chest. *Udarbandha* is a band that goes round the stomach as found in early male figures like that of Parkham *yaksha* (Fig. 1). Clothes were also considered as ornaments when worn in different styles. Some of these neck-ornaments were worn by both the sexes alike while some others were worn either by men or by women.

Waist Ornament

It could be possible, as some say, that clothing developed from ornaments. It might be that the girdle (*mekhla*) on the one hand developed into a skirt and on the other hand into a sword-belt. Two types of bead or pearl girdles can be distinguished; one thin hip-girdle consisting of one string or chain and the other a heavy-hip girdle consisting of two or more strings or chains. The *yakshini* from Didarganj wears a girdle consisting of five strings (Fig. 2). The beaded belt with a clasp in the centre appeared during the Kushan period. The material for the chain-girdle might be gold, silver, or some other material. The sculptures also depict *langotis* ornamented with one or more rows of large beads. Various types of girdles are referred to in *Natyashastra*: *kanchi* made up of one string of beads or pearls; *mekhla*, a girdle with eight strings; and *rasana* of sixteen strings.

Arm Ornaments

Upper-arm ornaments or armlets can be grouped under three varieties. *Keura* was wrought with beaded patterns edged in by one or more rims. Some bore crisscross or net patterns and some consisted of several square panels inset with pearls or gems. (Fig. 53-4). They were placed on the upper arm by inserting the hand through them. Some may have clasps to be fitted with screws. *Angada* was an entwining type of armlet made in the form of a coil (Fig. 53-5). Bana has picturesquely described them as "entwining the arm like a couple of snakes, fond of the smell of sandal applied to the body". In a third variety the *keuras* are replaced by a pile of bangles *(kankanas)* which may range upto twelve. The last two varieties were not found in male arms. Bangles for women symbolize auspiciousness. The figure of Didarganj *yakshini* wears as many as thirteen *kankanas* in each hand. The style of piling of bangles still continues in some rural and tribal communities and in the decoration of brides. The *kankanas* and *valyas* are thicker and heavier than bangles or *churis* (Fig. 53-6). The males generally wore one or at the most two whereas the women prided in their numbers. Wristlets were either hollow or solid metals with floral patterns or simple beaded strings. Some were just the combination of different varieties of bangles. In the early sculptures the representations of finger-rings are very rare. Kalidasa however makes several references to the use of finger-rings mostly by women. Two types of finger-rings, *mudra* and *anguliya* find mention. Finger-rings were sometimes used as a password of authority.

Leg Ornaments

Leg ornaments appear to be the exclusive privilege of women. These ornaments were light or heavy, hollow or solid. The anklet *(nupura)* of the simplest type consisted of a plain hollow tube in round shape. Some tubes were filled with shots to produce sound while moving. Many would embellish it with gems. Chain anklets were known as *shrinkhalas. Kinkinis* (jingling anklets), were chainbands fringed with little bells encircling the feet. A multi-coiled ring also served as anklet (Fig. 53-7). Different varieties of anklets worn in combination produced a beautiful effect (Fig. 53-8). Bharhut sculptures show anklets of spiral coils or of consecutive rings one over the other, the upper-most and the lower-most being ornamented. The Gandhara figures exhibit heavy anklets.

AMONG RURAL AND TRIBAL COMMUNITIES

The urban influences and the modern taste and styles have been much responsible for the slow disappearance of the old cultural symbolism of ornaments. However, some of the old traditional styles can still be discovered in the ornaments used by women in the rural and tribal areas. Paucity of space will allow only to catalogue the names and varieties of ornaments of the head, ear, nose, neck, arm and leg that are worn by women in some villages in the different parts of the country. Villages selected are from those referred to in Chapters IX and X.

Kashmir (Village Zachaldara)

Ear : *Kanawauj,* heavy earring (12 to 24 g) generally 6 to 8 suspended from each ear, now being slowly replaced by light earrings *(door)* one on each ear. **Neck :** *Hati-lur,* necklace (163 g); *hang-taviz,* amulet (53 g). **Forearm :** *Bunger* (bangle).

Himachal Pradesh (Village Chergaon)

Head : *Chak,* hollow domed-shaped head ornament (44 to 88 g): *dora,* of silver 15 cm in length and 4 cm in width used over the forehead as a *jhalar* and fixed to the hair (88 to 132 g); *junti,* of silver used on hair plaits with silver nuts which jingle (165 to 275 g); *linjoo,* long silver stripped ornament placed over the head with two ends fixed to the two ears. **Ear : *Kantali,*** silver ring used in upper parts of the ears (22 to 33 g); *mungri,* of silver or gold, looks like a thin disc with circular groves (22 to 33 g); *mukri,* of gold is slowly replacing the heavy *mungri* (6 to 12 g); *kantey,* of silver or gold (15g); *dharotu,* earrings of silver or gold (10 to 16g); *kodolu,* of silver being now popular (10g). **Nose :** *Nath,* big silver or gold ring that covers almost both the lips (10 to 15g); *balo,* thin gold ring having coloured beads; *phuli,* light stud like *tili,* now replacing *nath* and *balo.* **Neck :** *Kanthi,* silver necklace (88 to 132g); *Kach,* of silver beads (165 to 200g); *chander saini,* heavy silver necklace (240 to 1000g); *jugnu,* of silver and gold studded with multi-coloured beads. **Forearm :** *Dhagloo,* heavy silver bangle with lion shaped carving at the ends. **Finger :** *Arsi,* big silver ring with a small mirror fixed to it. **Waist :** *Gachhi,* costly silver girdle 15 cm in width worn by women of well-to-do families (800 g). **Leg :** *Paizeb,* silver anklet : *pollri,* silver ring for the second or middle toe.

Punjab (Village Kunran)

Head : *Saggi* and *phool,* made of gold and silver are worn only by married ladies. **Ear :** *Pipal-pattian, kokaroo* (3g);*kantey* (17g) (Fig. 53-9) and *balian* (9g) (Fig 53-10) are gold ear-ornaments. ***Nose:*** *Teeli.* **Forearm :** *Bangan,* gold bangle (25g). **Neck :** *Sing-taviti* (9g), *guluband* (12g) and *kanthi* (24g) (Fig. 53-13) are gold necklaces. **Leg :** *Patrian* (350g) and *gulshan-pattian* (350g) are silver anklets.

Rajasthan (Khajoora, a Bhil village)

Head : *Boro,* worn on forehead near the parting of the hair, held by a string tucked to the tuft of hair. **Ear :** *Jhelo,* ear-chain; *dhimma,* wooden ornament 1.25 to 2.5cm which was later replaced by a silver *dhimma, oganio;* silver ring worn on the upper rim of the ear. **Nose:** *Nathni.* **Neck :** *Hansli,* silver neck collar (120 to 600g); necklace of coloured beads. **Upper arm :** *Kanch,* a set of coconut shell bangles consisting of a *dopatri,* a *parochia* and a *bangri* worn in an ascending order. Sometimes coconut bangles are replaced by silver ones, but unmarried girls use aluminium instead of silver. **Forearm :** *Muthia,* a set of bangles of coconut shells decorated by thin strips of silver consisting of *bangdi,* a *parochia,* two *dopatris* and a *dhyodia* worn in an ascending order. **Back of palm :** *Hath-phool,* of silver. **Leg :** a set of anklets consisting of a *kada,* two *neories,* two or three *paijanias* and a serrated ring called *dantedar-paijania* worn in an ascending order. Some wear a set made of brass. Another set of leg ornaments consists of three *sada-kadas* (simple anklets) and one *bada-kada* (big anklet). One or two *sada-kadas* are decorated or designed.

Uttar Pradesh (Village Lohta)

Head : *Bendi,* gold or silver pendant worn on the forehead; *tika,* gold or silver pendant with a chain tucked in the bun. **Ear;** *Bali,* gold or silver ring worn round the outer edge of the ear. especially by Muslim women; *bijali,* worn on the lobe; *bala,* gold earring with a fringe; *jhumka,* gold or silver bell-shaped ornament suspended from the ear-lobe by a

flower shaped stud; *karanphool,* ear stud; *mukri,* small silver ring. **Nose:** *Bulak,* of gold worn in the cartilage of the nose, hanging up to the lips; *keel,* nose-pin of gold; *laung,* a stud of gold slightly bigger than *keel; nathia,* big nose-ring generally worn at the time of marriage. **Neck :***Chandrahar,* silver necklace; *guluband,* gold collar; *hansli,* of solid silver, wide in the middle and narrowing towards the two ends; *har,* silver necklace of many chains; *tauk,* of silver worn round the neck, especially by Muslim women; *zanjir,* chain of gold, silver or gilded; necklace of thread strung with coins (Fig. 53-15). **Waist :** *Kardhani,* silver girdle having a number of chains held together by bands worn round the waist. **Upper arm : Joshan,** armlet of number of drum-shaped beads strung together. **Forearm : Choori,** silver or gold or glass bangles; ***baguri,*** silver bracelet; *berwa,* silver *kara; kankani,* silver or gold wristlet; *tora,* silver wristlet. **Leg :** *Kara,* silver or bronze ankle ornament; *paizeb,* made of silver chains having small bells attached, which clink while walking; *chhagal,* closely resembling *paizeb; bichhia,* silver or bronze ring worn on the toe by married women only. More formal ornaments are used on festive occasions, otherwise bare minimum of ornaments are used in daily life.

Bihar (Jamkanali, a Santal village)

Head : A few flowers tucked in the hair make great appeal to the women. **Ear :** *Pagra* and *putki,* rings worn in the lobes of the ears. **Nose :** *Makuri* and *nothia,* nose-rings. **Neck :** *Hansuli,* silver collar ornaments ; *sikris* and *munga,* necklaces of beads. **Waist :** *Harhari,* girdle of silver chain. **Upper arm :** *Baju.* **Forearm:** *Sankha, wristlet; kaddu,* brass spiral worn from the wrist upward; brass bangles. There are no ornaments for the feet.

West Bengal (Bhumij Dhan Sol, a Bhumij and Lodha village)

Ear : *Dul,* earring made of gold, brass or glass. **Nose :***Nakchabi,* nose-pin with its head studded with stone or glass, sometimes made of gold. **Neck :** *Har* of gold, silver or brass. **Forearm :** *Churi* made of gold, silver, zinc, brass, rubber or plastic; *noa,* thin iron bangle and *sankha,* conch shell bangle, both considered as sacred marriage symbols or women.

Maharashtra (Shirvali village)

Ear : *Kudi,* golden ornament for the ear lobe; *bugdi,* of gold with small pearls for upper part of the ear. **Nose :** *nath,* of gold or pearls. **Neck :** *Mangalsutra,* necklace, sacred symbol of marriage; *vajratik, bormal; galsari, tandli-pot* and *putli* made of golden beads. **Forearm :** Golden bangles : *patli* and *toda,* silver bangles. **Leg :** *patli,* silver chain; *ferve,* toe ring.

Andhra Pradesh (Palyampalli, a Lambadi village)

Head and Ear : *Ghogrichotla* (Fig. 53-11), a heavy silver plated ear-pendant attached to a band of silver chains which decorate either side of the parted hair. Thready short silver chains ending in silver globules are suspended from the rim of the bell-shaded pendant hanging by the ear-stud which has a big knob almost covering the ear. **Nose :** *Bhooria,* nose ring : *phuli,* nose-pin. **Neck :** *Hansli,* of brass worn by married women : *kanta ghogulahar,* silver necklace; *gundi-choolehar,* silver globules threaded like a necklace with silver coins suspended from it : *Cheed,* necklace of black beads of ten to twenty rows with a cowrie as pendant, worn by married women; *jhadsenkdi,* silver necklace. **Arm:** *Choodur* and *balia,* horn ornaments for the upper arm; *moterabalia,* brass and horn

bracelets extending up to the elbow; *gauzera,* a piece of embroidered silk, 2.5cm wide, is tied to the right wrist: brass bracelets with jingling bells. **Fingle :** *Chapankali-venti,* ring fixed with silver coin worn on each finger; *carbari,* thumb-ring used for both the thumbs. **Leg :** *Wankdi,* brass anklet with jingling arrangements to scare away reptiles or animals in the forest; *kass,* brass anklet worn under *wankdi. Wankdi* and *kass* are used only by married women. These are now being replaced by *sedsenki,* silver chain anklet with jingling bells.

Tamil Nadu (Koottumangalam village)

Head : *Thovali pathakkam,* made of gold, studded with precious stones and screwed into the hair. **Ear :** *Pambadam,* a cluster of thick rings and studs which hang down the lobe of the ear. It seems heavy enough to break through the lobing ear, but higher the economic status the heavier is the weight : *visalamurugu,* small screw-like ornament worn on the upper portion of the ear. **Nose :** *Mukkuthi, nose-screw.* **Neck :** *Malais,* neck ornaments of many kinds like *kasumalai, kanchaumalai* and *keralamalai. Kasumalai* is a necklace consisting of small and thin gold coins attached to a thin gold chain and *keralamalai* is a collar-like neck ornament with designs of small rectangles along the whole length of the panel. *Thali* is an ornament with an amulet (Fig. 53-12). Different communities like Nadars, and Krishnanvagaiyars wear different types of *thali.* In addition to the *thali* (amulet) there are flower-shaped or star-shaped studs attached to the string. **Arm :** *Kappu,* bracelet of gold worn by married women; bangles. The head ornament and other gold ornaments are found among the affluent classes. Majority of women folk have no other ornament beyond a pair of ear-studs, nose-screws and a *thali.*

Kerala (Village Edamon)

Ear : Ear ornaments can be put into three classes, (i) The first type decorates the top of the upper portion of the ear and consists of two small ornamental items joined by a stem piercing the ear; (ii) the second type comprises several slender rings passing through perforations on the side of the ear; and (iii) the third type is the most elaborate and weighty item hanging from the ear-lobes which has been specially dialated from the very infancy. This third item called *pambadan* consists of numerous figures like frogs, serpents and flowers. **Neck :** *Chitturu* (Fig. 53-14), formed by piecing together several pieces of ornaments like drums, mangoes, bananas, leaves and flowers; other types of neck-chains. **Arm :** Bangles. **Toes :** *Minchi,* silver ring worn on the second toe of each foot; *peeli,* ring with diamond shaped plates with ornamental work worn on the third toe.

Many similarities may be observable among these ornaments though they have different names in different States. Nevertheless each region can be proud of its own speciality. In Kashmir beautifully disigned metal engravings in glittering or oxidized forms display gems in bright relief. The northern region including Punjab show evidence of both Mughal and Rajasthani influences. Dangling ear ornaments, many-rowed necklaces interspersed with spacers and the *kundan* setting (setting of gems in an ornament) appear to be popular. Rajasthan's love for chains, beads, broad bangles and heavy foot-jewellry and the use of ivory, bone and lac cannot escape notice. Jaipur is famous for *kundan* setting and *minakari* (enamel work) done on gold and silver. The filigree work of fine wires of gold and silver and delicate as a lace is the speciality of Cuttack in Orissa and Goa. In Bengal chase work (embossing and engraving) with borrowed motifs from

Bhubaneswar, Konark and Khajuraho attract notice. The jewellry of peninsular India is different from the north. Rubies, diamonds and pearls are popular. *Kundan* setting is at its best in Andhra and Tamil Nadu. The chase work of Mysore and Tanjore is a delight to the eye. Ornaments decorated with tiny granules of gold is a special feature of Kerala. The repousse work of the south (hammering into relief from the reverse side) with mythological and floral motifs gives the impression of miniature metal sculpture.

Several trends are discernible in the modern attitude towards jewellry. Jewellry is becoming more a means of adornment than a form of investment. Elaborately designed bulky and precious items are now giving place to lighter and simpler forms. The matching of color and design of jewellry with sari and blouse is becoming more evident. Less expensive media like silver, copper and white metal have come into common use. Artificial jewellry is also favoured. The popularity of beautiful low-cost ornaments have helped to bridge the symbolic gulf between the rich and the not-so-rich classes though their jewel-boxes may be differing in size, weight and value. The most interesting fact is that there is a swing towards traditional forms. Ancient designs, even rural and tribal patterns, are being copied with certain modifications. Harappan bead-style has appeared on the scene. Fashion is proud to have discovered its past.

Chapter XIV

Fabrics and Their Aesthetics

The use of cotton is as old as our civilization. Numerous spindles and spindle whorls found in the houses in the Indus Valley testify that spinning was a common practice in the domestic life of the people. In the excavated site of Mohenjodaro a few scraps of cotton were found sticking to the side of a silver vase. After close examination in the technological laboratory these pieces of cotton have been found to resemble a variety of coarser cotton now cultivated in northern India.

The Aryans prefered wool to cotton. Wool garments were considered fit to be used during Vedic rituals and ceremonies. The Aryans came to India from colder climes where sheep were reared and no cotton was found. They were accustomed to the use of woollen, fur and skin garments. Wool having a record of long association with the Aryans and having served them usefully, naturally claimed a privileged place. Probably, the first source of wool *(urna)* was the goat. *Urna* primarily means 'hairy covering of an animal' though it also connotes sheeps's wool.

Aryans however got acquainted with cotton cloth and made ample use of it. In the age of *Upanishads* and *Sutras* woollen, linen and hempen garments were prescribed for the *upanita* ceremony. Silk was commonly used in Vedic ritual. The manufacture of cloth like other manufactured articles received special importance during the Maurya period. Generally women were employed for spinning and weaving as was the practice in the Vedic age. The *Arthshastra* records the fame of eastern Bengal and the Gangetic delta for their famous white and soft *dakula*. In the Scythian era muslins of the best quality known as Gangetica were exported in large quantities to the Roman empire mostly in the first century A.D. During the reign of the Guptas there was great improvement in textile craft and silk weaving.

There are, however, no records to confirm when silk from China reached India. References indicate that the people had the knowledge of this imported article around 2nd century B.C. The route from China to India was through the Takla Makan Desert and over snowcovered dangerous passes. The silk that was then brought by the merchants after suffering the hardship and hazards of such a long journey must have been costly and, therefore, only a few men of wealth could buy it. It was only when the great Silk Route of Serindia passed through Kabul valley (then a part of the Indian Buddhist country), a large quantity of Chinese silk was imported into India. From the Ajanta paintings it appears that by the 6th and 7th centuries silk was more commonly used by well-to-do families. In the 10th century the textiles of Gujarat were carried to Egypt by Arab traders. The famous *patala* (silk) of Gujarat was in great demand in Java and Bali.

During the Sultanate period the textile industry developed along traditional lines

through the guilds and crafts of the village communities and of urban areas without the guidance and patronage of the rulers. It was the 16th century when the art and crafts of weavers burst forth with renewed vigour under Mughal patronage. During the Mughal period the most important industry in India was the manufacture of cotton cloth. The best and finest cloth made of cotton came from Dacca district. It is said that a whole piece of muslin manufactured for the use of royalty was packed in a hollow bamboo tube lacquered and gilded for despatching to Delhi or Agra. The delicacy of the *malmal* for royal use earned poetic names like *baft hawa* (woven air), *shabnam* (evening dew) and *abrawan* (running water). Some of them were so fine that they were not visible when made to float on water

Luxurious display of drapery was a Mughal fashion and to further enhance its splendour and gorgeousness foreign stuff was imported. Abul Fazal mentions about brocaded velvets from Europe, atlas satins and *newar* from China, *tefailah* from Mecca and *khard* from Yazd. Akabr also took great interest in improving the conditions of work and the quality of produce of the workmen.

One of the saddest facts in the economic history of India during the first century of British rule was the ruin and decay of her flourishing textile industry along with other industries. The Battle of Plassey (1757) was the turning point. Before that unfortunate accident of history, Indian textiles were in great demand all over the world. European companies in India exported a large quantity of cotton goods, especially Dacca muslin to England, France, Germany, Ispahan, Basra and Jedda.

The monopolistic control of the company over the industry and the oppressive tactics employed by the Company's servants to scoop up personal gains at the cost of weavers, paved the way towards the ruin of the weaving craft. Weavers were forced into contracts to supply a regular amount of cotton and silk goods at a fixed date and at a very nominal price. They were forbidden to work for any other party. Those who could not accede to these unjust demands were flogged and confined. At that time a story was current that many Bengal weavers used to cut off their thumbs to avoid the torture of being forced to weave at a loss for the selfish ends of the Company's officers. The story may be a popular exaggeration but it points to the misery and humiliation suffered by weavers, many of whom deserted the profession.

In Britain, importation of cotton printed goods from India and their re-exportation to the other European countries were stopped in response to a representation from British calico printers. Moreover, the British Parliament twice legislated to the effect that cotton and silk goods imported from India "could not be worn or otherwise used in England". Soon huge quantities of cheap cotton goods from the power looms of Manchester flooded the markets of India.

India rose from this industrial stupor after a century. The first cotton mill in Bombay started in 1854. Several other cotton mills in cotton-producing areas like Ahmedabad, Sholapur and Nagpur were started after 1877. The Swadeshi Movement which gained momentum at the time of partition of Bengal in 1905 gave a fillip to this industry. However, throughout British rule of India, the industry had to fight against enormous odds. Woollen mills first started in 1876 had also to go through similar ordeals. During the Freedom Movement, Mahatma Gandhi encouraged the programme of the spinning wheel and popularised *khadi* so to supplement the income of the rural masses during their spare time.

Today, the world of textiles cannot be visualised without endless shades of colour and infinite designs. It is interesting to realise that in three-fourths of the period of our civilisation since Harappan times, the use of dyes or colour in clothes was made in the most moderate manner. During this period most men and women draped themselves in plain white clothes. In the 6th and 7th century mural paintings in the Ajanta Caves are several colourful examples of beautifully patterned and striped clothes. The hues are, however, limited in their variety. After Ajanta the show of colour on textiles nearly disappear till we reach the 12th century when bolder dyeing and printing burst forth in Gujarati miniature paintings. During Mughal period mature patterns, ornate designs, brocaded glamour and bright flush of colours blossom forth matching the wealth and luxury of an artistocratic court. Rajputs of the plains as well as of the Punjab hills did not lag behind in colour. They showed their love for bright and big patches of flashing colour never seen in the past centuries. It looked a festival of colour in various combinations, the blazing crimsons with splashing blues, the burning vermilions with gorgeous yellows and the brilliant pinks with luscious greens.

Colour and design were the pivots on which fashion and styles revolved. The art of dyeing was known to India from its earliest times. In the past, the dyes were made from juices of shrubs and herbs, fruit and flowers. The deep red came from gum lac and bright blue from the leaves of indigo plant. Turmeric, the colour for auspicious occasions, was used as auxiliary to other dye stuffs, for its own colour would not stay long on cloth. Dye from saff-flower was in use for wedding draperies in its different tones included *phul gulabi* (pink), *gahra gulabi* (dark green), *piazi* (onion pink) and rose colour. But for permanent red colour the maddar plant was used. Orange was extracted from *harsinghar* flowers and yellow was obtained from *tesu* flowers.

Red and yellow were mixed through different processes to obtain various shades of colour like *zafrani* (golden yellow), *champai* (saffron yellow), *narangi* (orange), *sharbati* (light buff), *badami* (yellow buff) and *gul-e-anar* (scarlet). Yellow and blue dyes mixed in different proportions produced anguri (grape green), *pistai* (pea green), *totai* (parrot green) and *tarbauzi* (bottle green). Blue and red combinations produced *sausani* (mauve), *kasni* (heliotrope) and *dilbahar* (lavender). These few examples of Indian names identifying various shades of colour provide substantial evidence of our earlier knowledge about the art of producing innumerable shades by mixing and treating different dyes in different proportions.

Chunari (knot-dyeing) was originally a Rajput art. First, designs were traced and then the cloth was tied on the marked lines. The cloth was dipped in different dyes to give it the desired colour at appropriate places with white edging where the cloth was held by thread. The patterns were known as *ekbandi, chaubandi* and *satbandi* depending on the number of specks. In *shikari* pattern figures of men and animals were produced through artful manipulation of the same process. Allied to it was the waxing and dyeing process. The design was drawn on the cloth in hot beeswax by the help of brush and then dipped in a colour. The lines and patches of designs under the wax remained completely protected from the particular colour so that when the wax was melted out by boiling the cloth in water it left behind a design. By repeated waxing and dyeing a very complicated yet splendid pattern in many colours was produced on the cloth. Today this popular process has taken the form of *batik*.

Calico hand-print was India's novel contribution to the world. In earlier times the process of block printing was very simple. In the past gold and silver leaf printing on cloth was also the fashion. It was used in *patkas, dupattas* and all types of coverings. Patterns were stamped on the cloth with printing liquid and strips of gold and silver leaves were placed over the moist stamped design. Part of the leaf stuck along the gummy lines of the print and the rest of it got detached. With the help of a burnisher the leaf held by the printing gum was polished and brightened.

Kashida or embroidery is another means of embellishing fabrics. Like other fine arts it reflects the cultural tradition of people. Kashmir embroidery made on silk and wool is famous both for basic *kashida* stitches and attractive colours artistically blended. Some types of work are so perfectly executed that the same fineness appear on both sides, making it difficult to distinguish the right side from the wrong one. Punjab is famous for *phulkari* work made out of silk threads. The embroidery is done on the reverse side of the cloth providing a tapestry effect with a silky shine. In Kathiawar embroidery, good use is made of small circular mirrors and bright colours. In embroidered bodices from the Punjab and Rajasthan we find the mirrors, as a part of the design, well secured by button-hole stitches. Jaipur is noted for fine chair-stitch embroideries. The *kasuti* embroidery of Karnataka made beautiful by the use of satin, darning and straight stitches in zig-zag form.

The *chican* embroidery of Lucknow employs a different skill. The *chican* art is also famous in Bhopal and Gaya. The even and minute work is so excellently done that the design is beautifully outlined in the right side with the thread accumulating on the wrong side of the cloth. This is akin to shadow work which is also popular in Lucknow. Once this city was famous for its *kinkhab* work done on heavy velvet used for caps, waistcoats and shoes besides couch covers and bolsters. Now *kinkhab* workers have shifted from heavy embroidery to lighter work to meet the modern taste. Gold and silver embroidery had their golden epoch in the days of the Mughals. Pieces of gilded silver were beaten and hammered with such dexterity as to produce gold thread as fine as hair. Lengths of this thread were used for embroidering heavy fabrics. These glorious contributions of the ages of splendour have now become pages of history. The fancy of fashions have now other means and media for enhancement of the beauty of fabrics. Modern processes of weaving, dyeing, printing and embroidery have technically moved a long way but glimpses and reminiscences of past glory do not fail to reappear in many fascinating forms.

Chapter XV

How to Wear Sari and Dhoti

Non-Indians have always been fascinated by the intricate way of wearing the saree, though for those who wear it daily this is quite simple. The various important stages of wearing a saree or dhoti may be seen in the illustrations given in this chapter.

Sari

It will be found that the same sari can be draped in different styles, modern and regional. The modern style of wearing sari is shown in fig. 54 to 59. This style is evident all over India. This is also the regional style of Bengal and some other states. The states where other styles are prevalent, the modern style exists side by side with them. All of them begin in the same manner but afterwards the draping takes a different turn.

The length of sari will generally vary from 5m (5/1/2 yds) to 8.2m (9 yds) depending upon the fashion and the style of wear. Normally, it will have a narrow border at two lengthwise edges. Breadthwise, it will have a broad decorated border at one end which goes over the shoulder and a smaller border at the other end which remains covered under the wrap round the waist.

Fig. 54 : To begin with, the end with the small border is placed in front and tucked into the petticoat. Then the sari is drawn round the waist, tucking it in all the time along the petticot string till the point near the naval is reached. (in some cases, the wearer herself moves round a full circle to get the sari wrapped round the waist).

Fig. 55 : Now it is necessary to distribute the remaining portion of the sari into two lengths, one for the front pleats and the other for the upper draping. The decorative end of the sari is taken back and the length that is to be drawn up is carefully adjusted. (Normally it is little more than the length of the two arms and the breadth of the back at the shoulders. The figure shows how the length is adjusted from finger tip to finger tip after the sari is taken loosely over the shoulders.)

Fig. 56 : The end is brought forward under the right arm and is gathered to form smooth pleats of about 8 to 10 cm each.

Fig. 57 : The sari is drawn over the bosom and the pleated end is thrown back over the left shoulder. The middle portion of the sari lying on the ground will now be taken up.

Fig. 54

Fig. 55

Fig. 56

Fig. 57

Fig. 58 : The upper edge of the middle portion is held by two hands, the fingers of the right hand shuttle to form pleats of about 10 to 13 cm each while the sari keeps passing through the fingers of the left hand. The bunch of pleats are then firmly tucked at the navel. (It may be noted that some ladies first tuck in the pleats and then drape the upper part of the body; the process is reversed).

Fig. 58

Fig. 59

Fig. 59 : Sari is now properly adjusted, pleats are smoothed and bordered edges are carefully positioned. Sari flows evenly at the feet all around. The front portion from the right side gracefully curves up towards the left shoulder and arm with the upper edge tracing a line from the right armpit to the left side of the neck.

Fig. 60

Fig. 61

Fig. 62

Gujarati Style

Fig. 60 : After the sari is wrapped round the waist (Fig. 54) and the length of the upper end is adjusted to 30 to 45cm more than that shown in Fig. 55, the frontal pleats are tucked in at the navel. The loose free end is taken back from under the left arm and is drawn over the right shoulder from behind so that the decorated border is displayed in front.

Fig. 61 : The left corner of the end is taken back and tucked in at the centre of the back of the waist. In this style as the portion of the sari at the back is lifted up to the shoulder, it forms a crescent shape curve over the left hip. In Uttar Pradesh the sari is worn in the same manner with the decorative end displayed in front.

Bengali Style

Fig. 62 : It is worn in the modern style as shown in figures 54 to 59. In the additional style of married ladies, the sari is taken up the left shoulder and over the head. Therefore the sari is brought in front after passing under the right arm and thrown back over the left shoulder.

Fig. 63

Fig. 64

Fig. 65

Maharashtrian Style

Fig. 63 : In the *sakachcha* style a longer (8.2m) and broader (1.3m) sari is required. A petticoat is not necessary. The sari is wrapped round the waist as in Fig. 54 and tied with a firm knot to form a petticoat like covering. After the stage of Fig. 58, when the pleats are firmly tucked in, the bottom edge of the pleats is spread out.

Fig. 64 : The central point of the bottom edge is then taken through the legs to the back.

Fig. 65 : The portion around the central edge is gathered into pleats of 5 to 8 cm and tucked in at the centre of the back. The folds of the sari around the calves are then neatly smoothed and arranged so that the posterior tuck flows down gracefully.

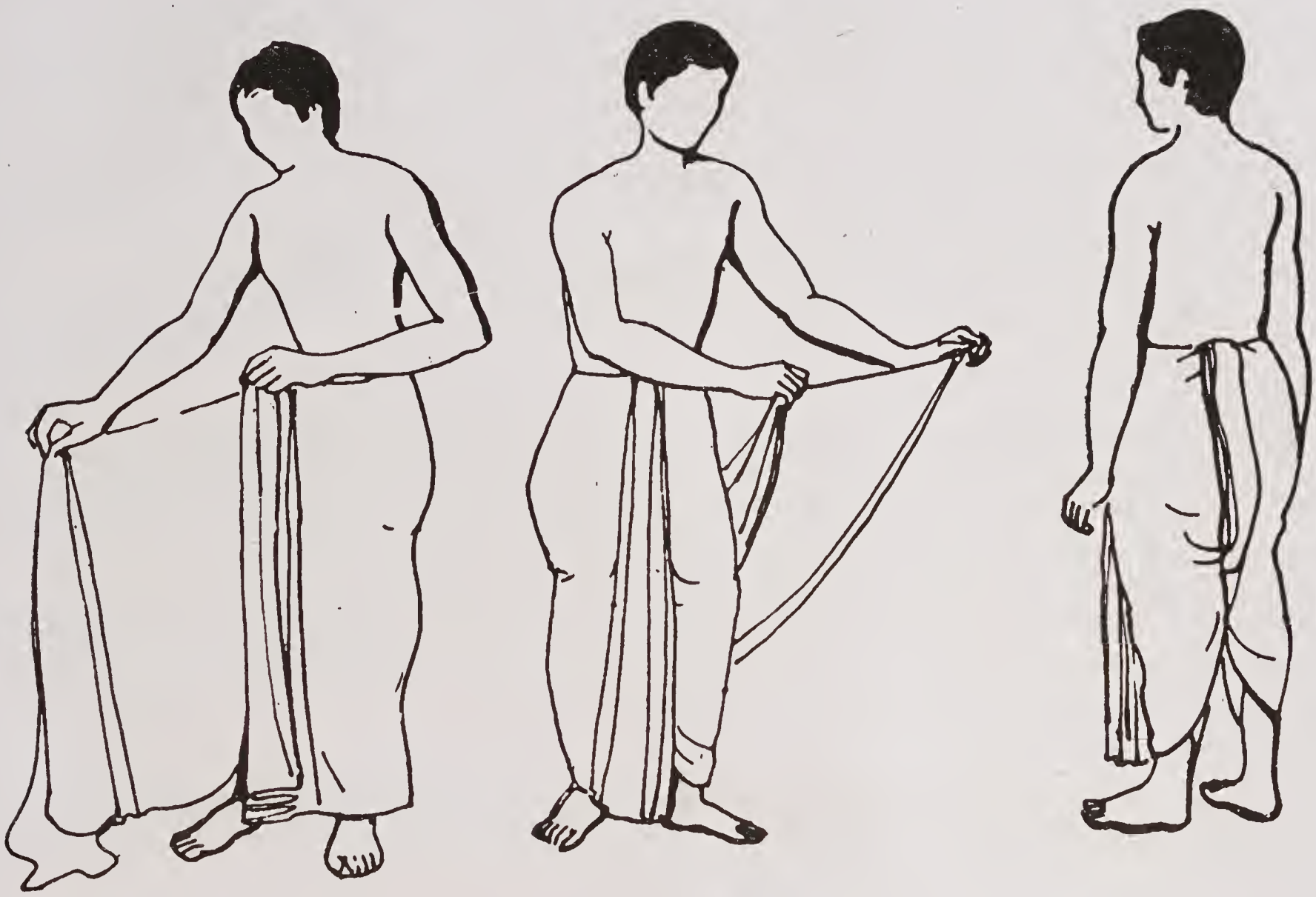


Fig. 66 *Fig. 67* *Fig. 68*

Dhoti

Fig. 66 : The middle portion of the dhoti is adjusted around the waist in such a manner that the surplus end on the right is longer than that on the left. There are two ways of fastening the dhoti. After girding the dhoti round the waist, two small portions of the top border, one on the right and another on the left, are brought together and tied in a knot at the navel. The other practice is to take hold of these two portions tightly by two hands and pull them in opposite directions over the stomach and then nipdown the grasped ends into the rigidly stretched top borders on each side. To complete the grip, the edges are rolled down with the help of the palms. (The short dhoti worn in a lungi-fashion is also fastened in this manner).

Fig. 67 : The right surplus end is pleated lengthwise and tucked in at the front. The left surplus end is taken back after passing between the legs. It is then pleated breadthwise.

Fig. : 68 : The pleated left end is tucked at the back as shown in the figure. (Some men put in the back tuck before tucking in the front pleats).

Chapter XVI

Epilogue

The foregoing chapters have tried to capture glimpses of our sartorial world through time and space. We started our journey from Mohenjodaro and meandered through fifty centuries to reach the modern times. Our wandering took us from the snow-clad peaks of the Himalayas to the peninsular tip of Kanyakumari kissing the waves of the Indian Ocean. We travelled from the sandy dunes of Rajasthan, across the Gangetic Plains and the Brahmaputra Valley to the densely forested hills of Nagaland. We visited tribal and non-tribal villages in different parts of the country. A brief review was made of the traditional styles of coiffures and the use of cosmetics, ornaments and fabrics in different periods of history.

This trip provides us with a bird's eye view of the bewildering range and multiplicity of local and regional costumes. The endless variety of dresses and their numerous styles of wearing are amazing. Every region or community is as proud of its dress as of its culture. Culture and costume are like warp and woof of a social fabric. They are so cohesively woven that it is not possible to visualise them as separate entities.

Many races came to India. Many of them returned but some accepted India and remained here to add something new to the country's culture and costume. Since the dawn of Harappan civilization we were used to just one or two rectangular pieces of clothing as our dress. According to religious texts the dress should be unsewn and should have two garments, one for wrapping round the waist and the other for the upper part of the body. Such a sartorial ensemble continued for centuries unchallenged by any external influence. The earliest invasion known to have been made was by the Persians in 516 B.C. Though it influenced the architecture of the Asokan period, it could not leave any imprint on the apparel of the people. Two hundred years later came Alexander (327-326 B.C.). The social aspect of this campaign was not inconsiderable but it did not bring about any significant sartorial change. The Greek concept of dress was not very different from that of ours. Greeks dressed themselves in a tunic called *chiton*— a cloth doubled round the body and pinned over each shoulder and held by a girdle at the waist— and *himation*— a rectangular piece of cloth thrown over the left shoulder, passed over or under the right arm and then again thrown over the left shoulder. Both were unstitched garments. After the return of Alexander a number of Indo-Greek dynasties ruled for 200 years along the north-western frontiers of India. The draperies shown of Gandhara sculptures provide evidence of foreign influence, but this type of dress did not reach any other part of the country.

Muslim rulers were the first from outside whose impress on the Indian costume was deeper and wider than what meets the eye. It may appear that it was the men rather than the women who were caught in the titillating clasp of a foreign fashion. In fact, it

indirectly influenced the costume of women all over India. The Islamic influence prepared the way for the emergence of sari as we now know it. Indian women cannot think of a greater gift in their sartorial repertoire than the sari.

It was the Mughal costume that first awakened in the minds of people a desire for over-clothing. It developed a feeling to appear graceful. The second impact was more on a psychological plane. Generation after generation when people saw the perpetual picture of fully draped human forms all round them, they became gradually conscious that their own dress did not fully cover their body. A new sartorial morality struck root and new attitudes and values started sprouting. A desire to obliterate all pronounced contours vulnerable to prowling eyes gripped the heart of women. They realised that more dress could only bring them more protection. They wanted to be doubly sure, doubly secure and so they had to be doubly wrapped. This psychological process was virtually responsible in shaping out new fashions and dresses.

The British rule brought a second momentous change in the sartorial scene no less in importance than the first. As in the earlier epoch, men had to begin by accepting the superiority of their rulers. They copied the foreign dresses to gain favour from their master and to secure their own prestige and position. Women did not get into the fully-skirted flowing gowns or top their head with brimmed hats with feathers. It is a tribute to Indian women that in no time in history were they ever tempted to sacrifice their own rich sartorial heritage. Perhaps the menfolk, who had no alternative but to copy their master, did not encourage their women to rush into this change-over. The acceptance of the blouse and petticoat became possible only because they bore a semblance to the Indian *ghagra* and *choli*, and these new articles were considered as an improvement upon the indigenous garments.

The European influence and our freedom from foreign domination did lend a psychological impact on the women and made them self-conscious about their dress and looks. The woman with her fresh emergence into a newly found freedom searched for sartorial novelty and hunted for the best style of dress that would suit her individual appearance. The first aspect of the search was for something new, something different from the customary. The dresses or their components lengthened or shortened, widened or narrowed, loosened or tightened, ascended or descended, frilled or flounced depending on the caprices of taste and time. It was to explore all possibilities of a clothing material, its texture, fineness, transparency and colour, to form endless patterns and designs that would delight the eyes. It was just dropping a new idea and creating a fresh ripple.

The second aspect of the search was concerning the skill of how to drape the body. It was in the realm of art and aesthetics. Clothes were meant not only to cover the body but also to discover it. Feminine clothing was not a matter of traditional wrapping. It was an artful aid to bring back the inherent poise and balance, charm and grace that was the body's due. The apparel was now to act as an alchemy to gild her personality. The theory of community appearance gave way to that of personal looks. Many new ideas emerged out of this sartorial transformation. How much to conceal and how much to reveal was a new problem. Two contrasted forces in two different directions interacted, one attracting the clothes too intimately towards the lines of the body and the other putting the clothes away from them. Feminine ingenuity found a compromise between modernity

and tradition, resulting in beauty and individuality of Indian dresses.

The interaction and intermingling of so many cultural strands and the preservation of local and regional sartorial products have been mainly responsible for the immense variety of Indian costumes. It is a unique feature. It cannot be attributed only to the vastness of the country. The multi-racial Soviet Union, the United States and China having the largest population in the world occupy a much larger area of land than that of India and yet they do not present such a spectacle of sartorial diversity in their day-to-day wear. A panoramic view of the vast variety of Indian dresses can be had in the space of a few minutes in a big railway station. As the train arrives a sprinkling of all modes of dresses will appear in the bustle of the crowd. Regional dresses, community-prescribed costumes, rural apparels and latest eye-catching fashions will mark the scene. Every person in dhoti or sari will wear it in a different manner depending on the individual's home, status, custom, convenience and taste. A first-time visitor in this country will surely be lost in wonder on seeing this interesting pageant of Indian dresses.

For the sake of a clearer picture, this sartorial conglomeration can be grouped into the following six basic patterns by taking the lower garment as the common factor.

Dhoti and Sari group : The basic garment is a single piece of unsewn cloth for draping — dhoti for men and sari for women. Dhoti has frontal pleats and a posterior tuck. A portion of sari is worn like a skirt with frontal pleats and the remaining portion is used for covering the upper part of the body. Maharashtrian women and Brahmin women in the south use a posterior tuck. Dhoti may accompany an upper garment like *chadar, bandi, baniyan, kurta* or shirt or may remain a lone garment. Sari is worn over a petticoat and *choli* or blouse. Sari is also worn without any accompaniments in some villages and areas. Sari and dhoti are said to be modern version of the clothes the Aryans used to wear, though the woman's garment is now used to cover both the lower and the upper parts of the body.

Ghagra group : The basic garment is a sewn full skirt from the waist to the ankles with deep and ample gathers. It is accompanied by a brief *choli* and *orhni*. Sometimes a jacket, blouse or *kameez* is worn over it. *Ghagra* is the first sewn garment worn by any ethnic group having a permanent home in India. It differs from the sari group due to the use of stitches and waist-string and from the *salwar* group due to its being unbifurcated. The corresponding male costume is dhoti or *churidar* pyjamas and *kurta*. *Ghagra's* area of distribution covers Rajasthan, Gujarat and parts of Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. Some tribes earlier used to nomadic life like Banjaras, Bhils and Lambadis also follow this group. The skirt-bodice ensemble worn by young girls in Kerala, Tamil Nadu and other places in the south can be placed in this group, though the ensemble has a different origin.

Pyjamas and salwar group : The sewn apparels of this group have originated from the costumes of Muslim rulers. Among the lower garments for male wear, loose pyjamas are for informal wear and tight pyjamas (*churidar*) for both informal and formal wear. The accompanying upper garments are *kurta* or shirt for both informal and formal wear, and *sherwani* or *achkan* for formal wear only. The corresponding female costume is the *salwar-kameez-dupatta* ensemble. *Garara* is a variant of *salwar*. Costumes of this group

are mostly worn in Punjab and parts of Uttar Pradesh. The costumes of Kashmir can also be placed in this group.

Trousers and skirt group : This group includes all European garments like trousers, jeans, shorts, shirt, bushshirt, coat, waist-coat, safari and complete English suit for men and slacks, jeans, skirt, petticoat, blouse and frock for women. The Jodhpuri or the coat buttoned up to the neck with standing collar falls within this group as it has evolved out of the European coat.

Indo-Mongoloid costume group : The wearers of this group are generally the Indo-Mongoloid people living in the Himalayan region and hilly tracts of Assam and adjoining states and union territories. Their dresses range from simple waist-cloth to elaborate and colourful dresses. The principal garment is a loomwoven cloth wrapped round the waist like a lungi, whose neither end varies between the knee and the ankle. Another loomwoven cloth is arranged around the shoulders. Each tribal community dresses according to its tribal convention. Some Indo-Mongoloids dress almost like the Tibetans. The *lungi* which is widely used by the Mongoloids of South-East Asia and is known as *sarong* is worn by a large number of non-Mongoloids in India though this style is absent in the costume of Indo-Mongoloids. The *lungi* may be included in this group.

Tribal-costume group : This group consists of very simple and rudimentary forms of unsewn clothing and has a very wide distribution. This group may be considered as an abridged version of the dhoti and sari group. Here, the garment is treated as a means to fulfil the barest need of covering the body according to the subjective notion of modesty of the particular tribal community. Men girt round the waist a small piece of rectangular cloth shorter in length and breadth than the usual dhoti. It is worn with or without a *kachcha*. The women use a short sari with a *choli* or without it. Sometimes a small piece of cloth is just draped round the waist and a separate strip of cloth is used to cover the breast in a manner found depicted in some of the Ajanta paintings. This is the usual dress of the aboriginal people of the central plateau from the Aravalli Range to Chota Nagpur. The poor peasants and labour classes in some parts of northern and southern India wear a similar pattern of clothes. *Langoti* is the extremely abridged form of a clothing which may be found among some forest tribes, poor labourers working in the rice fields and fishermen on a fishing trip. In some places *langoti* is used as an underwear. Its use as the only piece of garments is slowly disappearing.

Education, communication, migration and travel have on the one hand enlarged the sartorial choices and on the other have tended towards standardization of certain dresses and styles of wear. In Gujarat it is becoming fashionable with young women to wear the sari in the manner of Bengali ladies by drawing the free end from the right side and passing it over the left shoulder and quitting the practice of taking it over the head. Punjabi ladies have started showing an interest on the sari. There are families in Kerala and Tamil Nadu where the mothers sport the southern style and their young daughters the northern style of wearing the sari. College and school girls in Bengal and in some places in the south and other sari-regions now use the *salwar-kameez-dupatta* ensemble. The evolution of such preferences for accepting and adopting the regional styles and dresses of other States is a spontaneous cultural process.

These practices promote a feeling on national integration and emphasize the fact that state boundaries are no barricade for sartorial exchanges. Earlier Mahatma Gandhi suggested such mutual exchange. He wrote, "Variety is worth cherishing up to a certain limit, but if the limit is exceeded, amenities and customs masquerading under the name of variety are subversive to nationalism... The Deccani, Gujarati, Cutchi and Bengali style of wearing sari are all of them various natural styles and each of them is as national as the rest. The mutual exchange and imitation of such national styles are eminently desirable."

Those who are not used to real tropical weather and have little acquaintance with India may find that some people in our villages of tribal areas are scantily clad. Even Babar entering India in the 16th century wrote, "Peasants and people of low standing go about naked. They tie on a thing which they call *langoti*." The observation has relative parameters. The dress of a community is subject to various factors like tradition, climate, personal requirements, financial position and work conditions. If the agricultural labourer trusses his dhoti closely up to the middle of the thighs or wears a *langoti* and leaves his body bare above the waist, it helps him in the kind of water-and mud work he is engaged in. He wears what his fore-fathers wore, what is enough for his daily needs, what is convenient for his work, and what is worth the money he can spend.

In old records of more than a century old, references occur that women in certain low-caste communities did not wear anything above the waist. In the *manual of Tanjore* published in 1883 we find, "Sir Charles Trevelyan, Governor of Madras, had to interfere in 1859 and grant permission to the women of lower caste to wear cloth over the breast and shoulders, as disturbances often arose out of the converts of such castes attempting to wear clothes to cover the upper portions of their waists and the higher castes offered threats and violence against them". At that time it was considered a mark of respect in a few communities for men and women to remove the headgear and upper garment in the presence of the royal family or superiors. This practice was abolished by a royal proclamation in the middle of the 19th century. With march of time, such customs and restrictions had to bow down before the advancing tide of social progress. Things have totally changed, so has the sartorial scene. We have to appreciate these historical instances with reference to the social context of the times. Here, the question of modesty does not arise. The moral connection is a matter of association of ideas and social conventions.

The sartorial history of ancient India indicates that the people, even kings and queens, were never haunted with the desire to over-clothe themselves. They use two pieces of simple unsewn cloth to meet the bare needs of their body. Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation, also changed to a similar dress. Shri. T.S. Avinashilingam, ex-Minister in the then Madras State in the first Congress Ministry after Independence has described how this happened. "Mahatma Gandhi had spoken about *khadi* in many meetings as usual. In one of these gatherings, one stood up and said, 'you say, all must wear *khadi*. Does India produce enough *khadi* to provide for everybody? When it does not produce sufficiently for everybody to meet their needs, what is the use of advocating it? 'Gandhiji received this question quietly and respectfully, thought for a moment and said :'Yes, it is true that enough *khadi* is not produced for all the needs of all the people. Therefore, in order to make it available to as many people as possible, it will be good

if we can reduce our own consumption. Now I am wearing a dhoti, a shirt, an upper cloth, and a cap. It will be enough if I have only a dhoti and an upper cloth to cover my body. Even the dhoti is enough if it is up to my knees. In our country there are millions of people who have only torn clothes to barely cover their bodies. If you have to make *khadi* available to as many people as possible, we must cut down our needs. From today I propose to wear the minimum necessary for common decency ; namely, a dhoti below and an upper cloth. Saying so, he took off his shirt and ever after he wore no other clothes than a dhoti reaching up to his knee and an upper cloth."

Mahatma Gandhi was happy and proud to wear his simple clothes which represented the dress of the millions of people of India. In this dress, he attended the Second Round Table Conference at London in 1931 as the sole representative of the Congress and met the Emperor of India in Buckingham Palace-something which had never happened in the history of England. He had also suggested reform in our sartorial styles against over clothing. Once he said "Let us consider the Kathiawar dress. It consists of a dhoti, a long shirt, a short shirt and a turban. In view of the climate there, so many clothes are not at all needed. Two short shirts can easily be made out of a twelve-yard turban. Hence, it cannot be regarded as an exaggeration but is rather the bare truth to say that such a person is wearing twenty-four caps and three shirts". He concluded that the people should either give him a satisfactory answer to his suggestion or spare those twenty-three caps and two shirts for the poor.

The face of the village is changing. Modern dresses are slowly being inducted. This is due to the multi-dimensional developmental programmes, education, improved economic condition and contacts with the outside world. The stream of progress is transforming the style of living and wiping out many time-old customs and costumes, particularly of the tribal people. Slowly urban culture will penetrate deeper into the insular but peaceful and contented tribal life amid sylvan surroundings. It is felt that those things which hamper the progress of the tribal people will disappear with time, and it is hoped that their simple joys and their costumes with richness of colour and design will not be lost. Speaking about the people of Nagaland, Jawaharlal Nehru once said, "I am anxious that they should advance, but I am even more anxious that they should not lose their artistry and joy in life and the culture that distinguishes them in many ways."

The story of Indian costumes appears to be a saga of the dhoti and sari. Page after page these unsewn garments find repetition, being the dress of the majority of the people of India. Dhoti continues from the time of the first Aryan settlements. Sari, though originated from the upper scarf, has taken the form of the ancient Aryan dress with the improvement that the unsewn upper and lower garments of those times have been combined into one piece. These Aryan clothes have their own intrinsic merits. They can be used as garments just after coming out of the looms. They do not require any tailoring. It is easy to wash them eveyday before wearing—once considered an important religious requirement. The same garment can be used by different persons in different styles. Mutual exchange of beautiful saris among sisters, or mother and daughters is not uncommon. These draped clothes, however, do not have certain functional advantages that the bifurcated garments like trousers, shorts and *salwar* possess. The latter group allows free and swift movement. This is why they have a special appeal to factory

workers managing machines, players requiring a lot of running, and men in cities coping with the fashion and speed of modern life.

There are three unique features of our costumes which merit attention. Firstly, all our costumes, irrespective of change of rulers or social matrices, have preserved their individuality and distinctness. No single type has lost its cultural origin. The second significant fact is that these types and groups of costumes—the Aryan, the Muslim, the European—have existed side by side, irrespective of their affiliations. Each type is not only permitted and tolerated but is also found enriching our sartorial heritage.

The third unique feature is the adaptibility and intermingling of costumes. The sartorial outfit of a person may consist of articles of different origin. For instance, dhoti may accompany an upper garment of any origin. It could be an Aryan *chadar,* or a Muslim *kurta* or an English shirt. Whatever be the combination, there is nothing unusual about it. Pyjamas with shirt, and sari with blouse and petticoat represent similar combinations of garments of different origins. Another type of intermingling of dresses is evident when people wear the English suit or shirt and trousers for business and dhoti and *kurta* at home. During Muslim and British rules many people wore different dresses for public appearance from those used inside the house or for religious observances. One may now observe that the urban culture of big cities is slowly obliterating the visual distinction of region or religion in the dresses that people wear. Even in villages Muslims, Christians and Hindus of different castes wear similar dresses.

Individuality, adaptibility and faith in coexistence are the attributes of Indian costumes. In spite of the plurality of patterns, in spite of the strong local and regional identity, a certain fundamental unity runs through all the vast and varied array of our dresses. This unity in diversity, due to a common bond of a common heritage, is as much a character of our sartorial culture as of our style of living. Every stage in our sartorial evolution brought in new patterns of costumes which supplemented rather than uprooted the old ones. Expansion, affiliation and appreciation of regional identity have build up the wealth of our clothes. This is the expression of our culture. This is the story of our costumes.

Glossary

achkan	upper garment similar to **sherwani**
adhivasa	Vedic upper garment
alaka	curled locks
anchal	**pallu**
angarkha	(1) Mughal garment closely fitting the chest (2) upper garment (Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh)*
angavastra	shoulder-scarf
angi	(1) **angia** (2) **bandi**
angia	(1) a piece of cloth tailored in the brassiere style and tied at the back with strings (2) blouse
angocha	country towel also used as shouler-scarf
anjana	eye-salve
antariya	Vedic lower garment
ash-kot	Nepalese waistcoat
badana	**bandi** (Gujarat)
bandi	jacket upto the waist
bandia-angarkha	close-fitting bandi with loose vertical gathers (Rajsthan)
baniyan, banian	hosiery vest
barabandi	**bandi** fastened with 6 pairs of strings (Maharashtra)
baskat	waistcoat
billagochi	sari with back tuck (Andhra Pradesh)
bushahri	woollen cap with coloured velvet band (Himachal Pradesh)
Chadar	sheet of cloth wrapped as an upper garment
chaddi	short drawers
chadra, chadroo	(1) **chadar** (2) sheet of cloth used as a lower garment
chak	head-ornament (Himachal Pradesh)
challi	Ladakhi long woollen coat
chambu-thuri	Lepcha woollen cap
chaniyo	**ghagra**
chantia	**orhni** (Andhra Pradesh)
chapkan	predecessor of **achkan** and **sherwani**

** State(s) where the word is used for a particular article of dress, its component or its style of wear.*

chauli	shawl (Himachal Pradesh)
chhuba	long cloak (Himachal Pradesh)
chican	a kind of embroidery
chira	sari (Andhra Pradesh)
chola	loose gown with many folds
choli	(1) tight-fitting half-sleeved bodice tied at the back (2) tight-fitting blouse-like garment
chorno	loose trousers (Gujarat)
chudamani	jewelled strip running along a plait
chunan	pleats of a sari
chunari	(1) **orhni** (2) knot-dyeing
chunni	**orhni**
churidar	trousers closely fitting from the knees downwards forming bracelet like folds
daura	Nepalese full-sleeved shirt
davanni	half sari (Tamil Nadu)
dhaka-topi	Nepalese cap
dhathu	head-scarf knotted at the back (Himachal Pradesh)
dhooti	dhoti (Bengal)
dhoru	blanket used as a wrapper (Himachal Pradesh)
dhotar	dhoti (Maharashtra)
dhotara	dhoti (Karnataka)
dhoti	(1) lower garment worn round the waist with frontal folds and a back tuck (2) also, sari without the decorative border (Uttar Pradesh)
dhotiyu	dhoti (Gujarat)
digra	brooch to fasten the ends of **dhoru**
dora	woollen rope wrapped round the waist (Himachal Pradesh)
dumbon	Lepcha sari-like wear
dupatta	**orhni**
fo-kho	Bhutia full-sleeved dress
gachi	waist-band (Himachal Pradesh)
gamcha	**angocha**
Gandhi cap	white cap of khadi
ganji	hosiery vest
garara	female bifurcated garment with very wide legs and flounces
ghagra	ankle-length maxi-skirt with very wide circumference full of pleats
ghagri, ghagro	short **ghagra**
gochi	back tuck (Andhra Pradesh)
gol-nesana	sari without a back tuck (Maharashtra)
goodakattu	dhoti or sari wihout a back tuck (Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu)
gorey	Lepcha head-scarf

gyado	loose pyjamas of Lepcha men
hanju	Bhutia full-sleeved blouse
hara	necklace
jainsem	silken upper garment (Meghalaya)
jaja	waistcoat (Sikkim)
jama	(1) Mughal upper garment tied at the left side (2) knee-length coat tight upto the waist
Jawahar jacket	a type of waistcoat
jhumka	ear-pendant
joji	head-ornament (Himachal Pradesh)
jubba	**kurta** (Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh)
jurkhi	woollen **achkan** (Himachal Pradesh)
kabja	armless jacket (Maharashtra)
kacha	back tuck (Bengal)
kachcha	(1) back tuck (2) short drawers (Punjab etc.)
kachchadi	back tuck (Gujarat)
kamarband	waist-band
kameez	(1) knee-length female upper garment (2) shirt
kanchali	half-sleeved brassiere-like covering fastened with strings at the back
kandhela	portion of the sari taken over the shoulder
kankana	bangle
kanthi	necklet
kasa	back tuck (Maharashtra)
kashida	embroidery
keura	armlet
khadi, khaddar	hand-spun cloth popularised by Mahatma Gandhi during the Freedom Movement
kharaw	wooden pattens
khes	blanket
khompa	bun
kinkhab	embroidery work on heavy velvet
kinkini	jingling anklet-chain
komanam, konam	**langoti** (Tamil Nadu, Kerala)
koncha	frontal pleats (Bengal)
kosavu	frontal pleats (Tamil Nadu)
kuchchelu	frontal pleats (Andhra Pradesh)
kulah	conical cap
kumil	bell-shaped wide skirt worn in Manipuri dance
kundan	setting of gems in an ornament
kundla	ear-ornament
kuppasa	blouse (Karnataka)

kurira	(1) horn-shaped coiffure (2) head-ornament
kurta	collarless garment with cuffless sleeves
kurti	hip-length female upper garment
lalatika	ornament for the forehead
langoti	a strip of cloth passing between the thighs and attached both at the front and the back
lehnga	**ghagra**
lengha	pyjamas (Maharashtra)
lengti	back tuck (Assam)
loongda	short sari (Madhya Pradesh)
lugadi	sari (Maharashtra)
lungi	ankle-length piece of cloth wrapped round the waist and fastened with tucks
lungro	**orhni** (Rajasthan)
madisar	mode of wearing sari with a back tuck (Tamil Nadu)
makarika	mythical fish-crocodile decoration
marapu	portion of sari that goes on the upper part (Tamil Nadu)
mekhla	(1) multi-stringed girdle (2) a rectangular piece of cloth worn like a skirt in the North-Eastern States
mo-kho	Bhutia woman's sleeveless garment
mukuta	crown
mundu	a length of cloth worn like a *lungi* (Kerala)
neri	frontal pleats (Karnataka)
neriyatu	half sari (Kerala)
nishka	Vedic gold necklace
nivi	(1) lower garment (2) bunch of pleats tucked at the navel
nupur	jingling anklet
opasa	Vedic hairstyle with a top-knot
orhni	gathered shoulder-scarf or head-scarf
ottevesti	short dhoti (Tamil Nadu)
pag, pagra, pecha	headdress formed by using a very long piece of cloth (Rajasthan)
paizar	sandal
pallu, pallav	upper free end of sari
pamita	half sari (Andhra Pradesh)
panchagachcham	mode of wearing dhoti with five tucks (Tamil Nadu)
pangden	Bhutia apron having stripes
panjabi	**kurta** (Bengal)
parahan	short lower garment (Bihar)
pardhania	short lower garment (Madhya Pradesh)
parkar	petticoat (Maharashtra)
parumundu	upper garment (Kerala)

patka	narrow band of embroidered cloth
patli	frontal pleats (Gujarat)
pattu, patti	hand-spun woollen sheet
pekok	Mikir woman's upper garment
peni	Mikir woman's petticoat
phanek	female lower garment (Manipur)
phento, potia	headdress formed by using a short length of cloth (Rajasthan, Gujarat)
pheran	long loose woollen gown (Kashmir)
pheta	headdress (Rajasthan, Maharshtra, Karnataka)
phetia	long ornamental panel tucked into the **ghagra**
phulkari	(1) thick cotton cloth (2) a kind of emboridery
poothukuli	upper garment of the Todas
potrio	short lower garment (Rajasthan)
praveni	plait
pudavai	sari (Tamil Nadu)
pulhoru	hand-made shoes of grass (Kashmir)
ravika	blouse (Andhra Pradesh)
ravikkai	blouse (Tamil Nadu)
riha	scarf with tasselled ends (Assam)
ri-sha	breast-garment (Tripura)
rumal	headdress (Maharashtra, Karnataka)
sadi	sari (Maharashtra)
sadra	half-sleeved shirt (Maharashtra)
sadri	waistcoat (Uttar Pradesh, Bihar)
safa, safo	turban
sakachcha-nesana	sari with back tuck (Maharashtra)
salwar	bifurcated lower garment generally a little baggy and slightly gathered near the ankles
sampo	Bhutia hand-sewn velvet and leather shoe
sari	traditional wear of the majority of Indian women
seere	sari (Karnataka)
sherwani	male upper garment buttoned tightly from the neck to the waist from where it drops loosely upto the knees
suruwal	Nepalese tight-fitting pyjamas
suthan	Dogri trousers with tight lower portion
tahmad	**lungi**-like garment
thattu	mode of wearing a cloth like dhoti (Kerala)
thokro	Lepcha men's outer garment
tikuli	head-ornament
torthu	shoulder-scarf (Kerala)

trikachcham	dhoti with three tucks (Tamil Nadu)
uparni	shoulder-scarf
ushnisha	turban
uttariya, uttorio	(1) Vedic upper garment (2) shoulder-scarf (Bengal)
vasa	Vedic lower garment
vasana, vastra	dress
veni	plait
vesti	dhoti (Tamil Nadu)
yajnopavita	sacred thread worn over left shoulder and under right arm
yaksha, yakshini	male, female divine personages, spirits of forests and waters

INDEX

A

Achkan(s), 31, 43, 47, 77, 122, *(see also* Angarkha, Chapkan, Coat, Jabbho, Jurkhi, Sherwani*)*

Addapancha, 65

Adhivasa, 5, 6, *(see also* Garments, upper*)*

Agallochum Paste, 98, 99

Ahirs, 79

Ajanta Caves, 102, 112; Mural paintings, 112; Frescoes, 94, 96; Paintings, 10, 14, 102, 110, 123; Panels, 102

Akbar, and workmen, 111; tried to obliterate communal differences in dress, 22

Alaka, 97

Alexander, Hellenic touch in dress introduced by, 3

Amaravati, 97, 102; Sculptures, 96, *(see also* Sculptures)

Andamanese, 71

Angada, 105

Angami(s), 56, 57

Angarkha (Angarkhu), 26, 45, 47, 51. *(see also Achkan, Chapkan,* Coat, *Jabbho, Jamo, Jurkhi, Sherwani)*

Angavastram (see Scarf, *Shalya,* Shoulder-scarf)

Angi, 39, 76

Angia (blouse), 43, 79

Angocha, 48, 80. *(see also Gamcha, Gamosa,* Shoulderband, Towel, *Uparni)*

Anguliya, 105

Anjana, 98

Anklet(s), 16, 100; heavy, of Mauryan and Sunga times, 13. *(see also Nupurs)*

Antariya, 6. *(see also* Garment, lower)

Ao, 56, 57

Apron, 57, 59

Arab, traders carried Gujarat textiles to Egypt, 110

Armlets, 14, 57, 93, 100

Arsi, 106

Aryans, 5, 110, 122, 125

Ash-kot, 51

Atka, a close fitting garment, 5

Aurangzeb, 25

Avinashilingam, T.S., 124

B

Babar, 124; on dress of his time, 21-22

Badana (Badiyan), 45

Bagalbandi, 48

Baguri, 107

Baju, 107

Bala, 106

Bali (Balian), 106, 107, 111

Balia, 108

Balo, 106

Bandi, 43 to 50, 62, 68, 76-79, 122

Bandia-Angarkha, 43

Bangan, 106

Bangles, 60, 100, 105, 106, 108. *(see also Kada*(s))

Bangri, 106

Banian(s) (Baniyan, Banyan), 47, 71, 77, 81, 83, 87, 88, 122

Barabandi, 62

Batik, 113

Beads, 84, 100, 102

Belt, 30, 56, 72, 84; beaded, 104; cane, 61

Bengal, costume of Hindu and Muslim woman, 26; wealthier natives imitating the English, 31

Bengali *Kurta,* 39

Bernier, 24

Berwa, 107

Besra, 76

Bharata Natyam, 92; dance costumes of, 89-90

Bharhut, 10, 102; sculptures, 94, 105, *(see also* Sculpture(s))

Bhils, 76

Bhooria, 107

Bhuiyas, 81

Bhumijes, 80, 81

Bichhia, 107

Bijali, 107

Billagochi, 66

Bindi (Bendi), 16, 106

Bijapur, Sultan of, dress in the time of, 25

Blanket, 60, 61, 77, 78. *(see also Dhoru, Khes, Pachedi, Pattu)*

Block Printing, 113

Blouse, 34, 46, 53 to 56, 59, 63, 64, 66, 69-72, 78, 83, 84, 87, 88, 91, 122, 123

Bodice, 34, 57, 60, 84

Boots, 39, 57

Bormal, 107

Boro, 106

Bracelets, 14, 93

Brahmin(s), 82, 87; dress of 84; Iyer, 87; Tamil dress of, 71

Brahmo Movement, and sartorial preferences, 30

Brassieres, 37, 63, 76

Breast Plate, 90, 91

British Calico Printers, against import of cotton goods from India, 111; Parliament legislated against Indian cotton and silk clothes, 111; Power, growth of, 25

Brocades, embroidered, 20

Bulak, 107

Bunger, 105. *(see also* Bangles)

Burqua, 22, 77

Bush-shirts, 37, 71, 72, 83, 123

Bushari Cap, 40, 75

C

Calico Handprint, 113

Cane Garters, 60, 61; Rings, 60

Cap(s), 14, 31, 38, 47, 54, 62, 64, 65, 75, 83, 84, 113, 125; fur-lined, 39; in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, 47-48. *(see also* Headdress)

Carbari, 108

Chadar(s), 14, 38-40, 43, 51, 53, 54, 57, 76 to 78, 122: used to cover the head in Manipur, 56

Chaddi, 63

Chadra (see Chadar)

Chadroo see Shawl, woollen

Chain, 101; twisted, 104

Chak, 40, 106

Chakhesang, 56, 57

Challi, 74

Chamu basket, 40; *Kurti,* 39; *Sutan,* 39, *Thuri,* 53, *(see also* Headdress)

Chander Saini, 106

Chandrahar, 107

Chaniyo, 46

Channavira, 104

Chapankaliventi, 108

Chapkan(s), 31, 47 *(see also Achkan, Angarkha, Coat, Jabbho, Jamo, Jurkhi, Sherwani)*

Charan dharan, 22

Chaubandhi-Choli, 51. *(see also Choli)*

Chauli, 40

Cheed, 107

Chemise, 55

Chenchus, 84

Chettiars, 87

Chhagal, 107

Chhuba (long cloak), 39

China, Atlas satins and *newar* from, 111; Silk from, 110

Chira (see Sari*)*

Chiton (tunic), 120

Chitragupita, 22

Chitturu, 108

Choi, 54

Choli, 18, 19, 23, 30, 34, 35, 40, 44-45, 48, 62, 63, 66, 77, 79, 80, 82, 87, 89, 121 to 123; as an upper garment, 46

Choodur, 107

Chorno, 46

Christian(s), 87, 88, 126; belonging to Brahmin, Shudra, Kumbhar and Gauda communities, 82-3; dress of Hindus and, 67; Missions, 33

Chudamani, 102

Chunari (Orhni), 45

Chunari (Knot-dyeing), a Rajput art, 112

Chunni, 76

Churi(s), 105, 107

Churidar, 15, 40, 46, 47, 89; *Kameez-Orhni* combination, 40, Pyjama, 33, 44, 48, 122, 123; *Sherwani* combination, 40. *(see also* Pyjama)

Churnakuntala, 97

Clothe(S), 34; philosophical outlook of ancient Indians towards, 20; use of dyes in, 112

Clothing *(see* Apparel, Costume, Covering, Dress, Garment)

Coat, 22, 32, 33, 37, 39, 40, 47, 51, 53 to 56, 59, 60, 62, 64, 70, 72, 76, 84, 123; heavy, 29; long, 30; Muslim, 32; tight-sleeved long, 18, *(see also Achkan, Angarkha, Chapkan, Jabbho, Jamo, Jurkhi, Sherwani)*

Coiffures, 15, 16, 94, 96, 102, 120

Coins, Kushan period kings portrayed on, 104; as neck ornaments, 104

Collyrium, 98

Cosmetics, 120; use of, in ancient times, 98-9

Costume, 1, 2, 5, 17, 93, 120, 122; of Andaman and Nicobar Islands, 71-2; of Andhra Pradesh, 65-6, 84; of Arunachal, 59-61; Aryan, Muslim and European, 126; of Assam, 53-4; Bharatanatyam, 89-90; of Bihar, 47-9, 77-8; development of, into baroque style, 16; difference between of north and south, 20; English, 31-32; female, 10-11, 13, 28, 30; of rural Goa, Daman and Diu, 82-3; of Gujarat, 45-6; of Haryana, 43-4; Himachal Pradesh, 38-40; indicated by sculptors of Bharhut, Bodh-Gaya, Gateway of Sanchi and Ajanta paintings, 10; Indo-Mongoloid, 123; of Karnataka, 63-5, 83-4; Kashmiri, 37-8, 73-5, 123; of Kathak, 91; of Kathakali, 90; of Kerala, 70-71, 88; Kinnaur region, 40; of Kuchipudi dance, 92; of Lakshadweep, 71; of Madhya Pradesh, 48-49, 79-80 of Maharashtra, 62-3, 82; male, 10-11, 13, 26; of Manipur, 56, 91-2; of Meghalaya, 54-5; of Mizoram, 55; Muslim, 21,30; of Nagaland, 56-9; of Nishi Women, 61; of Odissi dance, 93; of Orissa, 50-5, 81; of Punjab, 40-3, 75, 123; of Rajasthan, 43-5, 76; sewn garment appears for the first time in the history of India, 19; of Sikkim, 51-3; of Tamil Nadu, 66-70, 85-8; Tribal, 123; of Tripura, 55; of Uttar Pradesh, 47-9, 123, 77; of West Bengal, 50-5, 80-1. *(see also* Covering, Dress, Garment)

Cotton, 110-112

Covering, 19; and modesty, 3 *(see also* Costume, Dress, Garment)

Cowries, 56-57, 84, 107

Culture, 4; and Costume, 120; and foreign

influences, 1; Sartorial, 126

D

Daflas *see* Nishis

Dagger, 26

Dakmonda, 55

Daura, 51

Davanni see Sari

Devadasis, 89, 92

Dhagloo, 106

Dhaka-topi, 51. *(see also* Headdress)

Dharotu, 106

Dhathu, 40, 75. (*see also* Head-scarf)

Dhimma, 106

Dhoru, 39. *(see also* Blanket)

Dhotar (see Dhoti)

Dhotara (see Dhoti)

Dhoti *(Dhooti),* 30, 32, 38, 43-51, 53, 63, 67, 70-71, 76-78, 80-84, 88, 92, 122-126; different styles of wearing, 118-119; with *Kurta* is a common male dress in West Bengal, 50; how to wear, 114-118. *(see also Dhotiyu, Kachi Thuni, Rettaivesti, Thimi, Vesti)*

Dhotiya, 45. *(see also* Dhoti)

Dhyodia, 106

Diamonds, 100, 101, 109

Didarganj *Yakshini,* 7, 8, 10, 12, 34, 94, 102, 104, 105

Dohar, 77

Dopatri, 106

Dora, 39, 106

Doshalla, 22

Drapery, 111; depicted on Gandhara Sculptures, 120

Drapi, 5

Drawers *see* Undergarment

Dress, 104, 120; of Babar's time, 21, 22; cultural styles of, 14; English, 29-33; and geographical compulsions, 2; and historical events, 3; Indian, individuality of, 122; intermingling of, 126; Islamic, and Muslim rulers, 29, 32; of Kathiawar, Gandhiji on, 125; Kerala style of, 87; Modern, traditional ornaments not used with, 59, of Okkaligas and Irulas, 86; Portuguese influence on Goans, 83; represented in Sculptures, 4; and religion, 87; rural and tribal patterns of, 73; of Sansi women, 77; in South India, 30; Spitian, 39; standardization of, 47; and technological advancement, 2; traditional; 62; of Assamese women, 53-54; of Bhutia men and women, 51-52; in Ladakh and Leh, 38; of Lothas, 57; Nepalese men and women, 51; of Pnar and Khasi women, 55; worn over western garments, 54; Vedic, 6-7, *(see also* Costume, Covering, Garment).

Dubois, Abbe, 30

Dul, 107

Dupatta (Dupatto), 27, 35, 38, 39, 42, 45, 46, 48, 77, 113

Dye(s), 112

Dyeing process of, 112

E

Ear-Lobes, 102, 107-108

Ear Rings, 14, 57, 60, 84, 100, 108

Embroidery, *Chican,* of Lucknow, 113; *Kasuti,* of Karnataka, 113; Lambadi women's love for, 84

F

Fabri, Charles, 28

Fa-hien, 101, 102

Fariya, 51 (see also Sari)

Fashion, 36, 98, 101, 109, 112; English, and Muslims, 31; European, brought by Englishmen, 31; Fancy of, 113; and foppishness of the powerful, 21; Mughal, of displaying drapery, 111; Persian and Turkish, 21; Western, 34

Ferve, 107

Finger-Rings, 105

Flap(s), 60, 92

Flowers, 93; to decorate body, 99; tucked in hair, 107

Fo-Kho, 51

Foot-Jewelry, 108

Footwear, 37, 59, 75; not mentioned in *Rigveda,* 6

Fotua, 50

Frock, 37, 55, 56, 83, 123; Coat, 31, 39

Fuller, Thomas, 3

G

Gachhang, 39

Gachi, 75, 106

Gaddi(s), 39

Galsari, 107

Gamcha, 48, 77, *(see also Angocha, Gamosa,* Shoulder-Band, Towel, Uparni)

Gandhara Sculptures, 96, 97, 120. *(see also* Sculptures)

Gandhi, M.K., 32, 33, 111, 124; his views on dress, 124

Gandhi Cap, 32, 45, 47-48 *(see also* Cap, Headdress)

Ganji, 50

Ganjiphrak, 62

Garara, 35, 48, 76; a variant of *salwar,* 122

Garments, 84, 110; foreign, 32, 33, 55; made of *patta* or *patti,* 39; Sewa, 19 *(see also* Costume, Covering, Dress)

—Lower, 12-17, 20, 28, 30, 38, 65, 72, 88, 91; *Churidar* type of, 46; dhoti as principal, of Maharashtra men, 62; a nearly transparent, 13 *(see also Antariya, Nivi, Tarpaya,Vasa)*

—Outer, 52

—Upper, 15, 28, 62, 64 to 66, 70 to 72, 77; *Choli* as an, 46; of women, as represented in Indian art, 4 *(see also Adhivasa,Uttariya)*

Gauntlets, 57

Gauzera, 108

Gems, 100, 102, 108

Ghagra, 19, 20, 22, 23, 28, 33, 35, 40, 43-46, 48, 62, 76-77, 79, 121-122, *(see also* Skirt)

Ghagri, Ghagro (see Ghagra)

Ghogrichotla, 107

Ghunghat, 45, 48

Girdle, 93, 100, 120; silken, 39; various types of, 104-105, *(see also Mekhla);* Chains; 101

Gochipancha, 65

Gold, 100

Gol-nesana, a style of wearing sari, 63

Gonds, 79

Goodakattu, 65-66, 69

Gorey, 53

Gorochana, 99

Gowdas, 83

Gown, 71; and headdress of Tajiks and Uzbeks, 38; Tibetan, 38 *(see also Jakalwat)*

Greco-Roman influence, 14, 38

Gulshan-Pattian, 106

Guluband, 106, 107

Gundi Choolehar, 107

Gupta(s), 14, 98, 101, 110; Coins, 14; Period, 98, 101; Venkata Period, Sculpture and Ajanta frescoes of, 96

Gusset *(miani),* 41

Gyodo, 53

H

Hairstyle, 20; basic patterns of, 94; depicted in variuos sculptures, 96; Iranian, 94; of men as depicted in sculptures, 97-98

Hang-taviz, 105

Hanju, 52

Hansli (Hansuli), 104, 106-107

Harappa, 5, 100; Bead style, 109; Civilization, 120; Period, hairstyle during, 94

Har, 107

Harhari, 107

Harsha Period, 98

Hath-phool, 106

Hati-lur, 105

Headdress(es), 13, 16, 37, 60, 62-63, 66, 76, 84, 91, 94, 100, 102; and gown of Tajiks and Uzbeks, 38; out of fashion in West Bengal, 47, 50; not mentioned in *Rigveda,* 6 *(see also* Cap, *Chambu-thuri, Dhaka topi,* Headgear, Helmet, *Pagri, Pataga, Poho, Safa(o), Ushnisha)*

Headgear, 13, 16 30, 43, 45, 54, 57, 70, 74, 90; of Konyaks and Phoms, 59. *(see also* Headdress)

Head-ornament, 93, 101

Head-Scarf, 62, 74, 75 *(see also Dhathu, Orhni)*

Helmet, 57, 60 *(see also* Headdress)

Himation, 120

Hindus, 88, 126; brought closer to Muslims by Akbar, 22; women's dress, 18

Huen Tsang, 16

I

Ibn Batuta, his mention of a silk robe, 20-21

Indus Valley, 98, 100, 110

Irulas, 86

Islamic influence, 121

Izar, 22. *(see also* Trousers)

Izarband, 41

J

Jabbho, 45, *See* also *Achkan, Angarkha, Chapkan,* Coat, *Jamo, Jurkhi, Sherwani*

Jacket, 39, 40, 44, 45, 46, 57, 60, 69, 71, 90, 91, 122

Jahangir, a *firman* by, 29; his regal apparel, 24

Jaincup, 55

Jainkyrshah, 55

Jainsem, 55

Jaintias *(see* Pnars), 55

Jaja, 51

Jakalwat, 21, *(see also* Gown)

Jama, 22-24, 26; of Aurangzeb, 25; Mughal, 23, 26; Muslim, 22; three varieties of, 23

Jamo, 45. *(See also Achkan, Angarkha,Chapkan,* Coat, *Jabbho, Jurkhi, Sherwani)*

Jawahra Jacket, 33, 47. *(see also* Jacket)

Jewelry, 101; modern attitude towards, 109; Polychrome, 100; making, 100

Jhadsenkdi, 107

Jhalar, 106

Jhelo, 106

Jhumka, 97,

Jodhpur Coat, 43

Jodhpuri, 123

Joji, 39

Joshan, 107

Jubba, 63, 65

Jugnu, 106

Jumper, 34, 43

Junti, 106

Jurkhi, 75, *(see also Achkan, Angarkha, Chapkan,* Coat, *Jabbho, Jamo, Sherwani)*

K

Kabja, 62, 82

Kach, 106

Kachcha, 7, 39, 43, 47, 49, 63, 76, 82, 84, 123; mode of wearing, 87; prescribed by religion for Sikhs, 41; Style, of wearing sari, 64

Kachi thuni see Dhoti

Kada(s), 106-107. *(see also* Bangles)

Kaddu, 107

Ka-Kyrshah, 55

Kalidas, 96, 98, 105

Kamarband, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14-15, 21, 24, 27, 44, 68, 76; styles of, 13

Kambli, 83, *(see also* Blanket)

Kameez, 35, 37-38, 41-42, 48, 59, 66, 76-77, 122; *Salwar-orhni* combination, 40

Kanawauj, 105

Kanch, 106

Kanchali, 44, 46, 49, 76, 79, 84

Kanchanmalai, 108

Kanchi, 105

Kanduva, 65

Kanjars, 77

Kankanas, 105 *(see also* Bangles)

Kankani, 107

Kanta Ghogulahar, 107

Kantali, 106

Kantey, 106

Kanthi(s), 104, 106. *(see also* Necklet(s)

Kaparda style of hair, 94. *(see also* Style)

Kappu, 108

Kapri, 76

Kara, 107

Karanda-Mukuta, 102

Karanphool, 107

Kardhani, 107

Karnamudra, 102

Karnasobhana, 101

Karnavedha, 102

Karnika, 104

Karnotilaka, 104

Kashida, of different kind, 113. *(see also* Embroidery)

Kass, 108

Kasumalai, 108

Kathak, 89; dance costume of, 91

Kathakali, 89; dance costume of, 90-91

Kediyu, 46

Keel, 107

Kerak, 51, 52

Keralamalai, 108

Keura, 105

Khadi, 32, 101, 111, 124

Khajuraho, 17, 109

Kharaw, 75

Khasis, dress of, 54, 55

Khes, 40, 43, 45. *(see also* Blanket)

Khilji, Alauddin, 20

Khompa (see Kumba)

Khudeis, 56

Khukuri, 51

Khusro, Amir, 18

Kinauri Cap, 40

Kinkhab, 113

Kinkinis, 105

Kiritia-Mukuta, 102

Kodolu, 106

Kohl, 98

Kokaroo, 106

Kolhas, 81

Komanam, 67

Konam, 70

Konyak(s), 56, 57; dress of, 59

Kopri, 62

Kaupinam, 70

Krishna Lord, 87, 90-92; shown dressed as Mughal courtier, 27

Krishnanvagais, 87, 108

Kuchipudi, 89; dance costume of, 92-93

Kudi, 107

Kulah, 21, (see also Cap)

Kalu Cap, 39, *(see also* Cap)

Kumba, 94

Kumil, 91, 92

Kundan setting, 108

Kundla, 102

Kuppasa, 83. *(see also* Blouse)

Kuppayam see Jacket

Kurira, 101; a horn-shaped coiffure, 94

Kurta, 38-40, 43-44, 46-50, 53, 62, 75-77, 79, 122

Kurti, 40, 43, 76

Kusa, as part of Vedic dress, 6

Kushan Kings, 3, 15, 104

L

Lac dye, 98, 108

Laharis, 45

Lalatika, 102

Lamba-Angarkha, 43

Lambadis, 79, 84

Lang, 21

Langoti, 21, 67, 82, 123, 104, 124 *(see also* Loin-cloth)

Laung, 107

Leh, dress in, 38

Lehnga, 19, 43, 44, 49, 50, 84

Loin-cloth, 32, 57, 60, 83. *(see also Langoti)*

Loongda, 79

Lotha(s), 56; traditional dress of, 57

Lugda, 49

Lungi, 38, 40, 46, 53, 65, 67, 70, 72, 76, 77, 123; Style of wearing dhoti, 63, 64

Lungro, 76

M

Madisaru, style of wearing sari, 87

Makara-kundla, 102

Makarika, 99, 102

Makuri, 107

Malais, 108

Malmal, 111

Mambayakattu, style of wearing sari, 69

Mangalsutra, 107

Mani, 101

Manipuri, 89; dance costume of, 91-92

Manu, 6

Mauryan Period, 9, 101, 110; hairstyles of, 94; headdresses during, 96

Mekhla, 10, 12, 13, 15-16, 55 to 57, 59, 104; use of in Assam, 53-54; blouse-chadar combination, 54, (*see also* Girdle)

Minakari, 108

Minchi, 108

Modesty, 3, 4, 45

Mohenjodaro, 5, 94, 100, 110, 120

Mo-kho, 52

Moplas, 64, 71

Moterabalia, 107

Mudra, 105

Mughal, 108; empire, 22, 25, 29; period, 112; style, 23, 25

Mukkuthi, 108

Mukri, 106-107

Mukta-Yajnopavita, 104, (*see also* Yajnopavita)

Mundu, 71, 87, 88; principal article of dress in Kerala, 70

Munga, 107

Mungri, 106

Muslim(s), 30, 64, 83, 88, 126; brought closer to Hindus by Akbar, 22; and English ways and fashion, 31; introduced *sherwani* and *churidar* pyjamas, 3; Rulers, 20, 29, 120, 122

Muslin, export of, 110, 111

Muthia, 106

N

Nagarjunakonda, 96, 97, 102, 104

Nakchabhi, 107

Namboodiris, 70

Napri, 76

Nath, 106, 107

Nathai, 106

Nathia, 107

Natyashastra, 102, 105

Necklaces, 14, 57, 101, 104; of wild bear's tasks, 59, (*see also* Nishka)

Necklet, 16, 92, 93, 104

Needle, 19

Nehru, Jawaharlal, 125; Started wearing Indian dress, 33

Neories, 106

Neriyatu, 88 (*see also* sari)

Nim tanaha, 22 (*see also* Jacket)

Nishis (Daflas), 60

Nishka, 101, (*see also* Necklace)

Nivi, 6. (*see also* Garment, lower)

Nose-screws, 108

Nupurs, 90, 92, 93

Nur Jahan, dress of, 24

O

Odissi, 89; dance costume of 92-93

Oganio, 106

Oil, scented, 98

Okkaligas, 86

Onges, 71

Onnaramundu, 70

Oraon, 49, 78

Orhni, 19, 23, 28, 38, 40, 41-46, 71, 76-77, 79, 90, 93, 122; transparent, 24. (*see also* Dhathu, Head-scarf)

Ornaments, 20, 59, 90, 92, 100-109, 120; of arm, 105; of ear, 102-104; of head, 102; of legs, 105; made of horns, 108; of neck, 104; of nose, 101; of rural and tribal communities, 105-109; traditional, of waist, 104-105

P

Pachedi, 45, (*see also* Blanket)

Padmapani, 15

Pagri(s) (Pag, Pagra, Paghadi, Pecha), 44, 45, 47, 107. (*see also* Headdress, Turban)

Paheran, 45

Pajafzar, 22, (*see also* Sampoo, Shoes, Shotsi)

Paibatta, 65

Paijanias, 106

Pairan, 62

Paizar, 75

Paizeb, 106, 107

Paloo, 74

Pambadam, 108

Pamita, 66. (*See also* Sari)

Panchagachcham, 66

Panchakattu, 65

Panchiyu, 45

Pangden, 52

Panjabi, 50

Parahan, 77

Pardhania, 80

Parkar (*see* Petticoat)

Parkham Yaksha, 7, 104
Parmnaram, 22
Parochia, 106
Pataga, 83. (*see also* Headdress)
Pataka(s), 7, 8, 10, 113
Patli, 107
Patna Yaksha, 7
Patra-kundla, 102
Patrian, 106
Pattu, 39. (*see also* Blanket)
Patuka, 51
Pavada, 71
Pearls, 100, 102, 104, 109
Peeli, 108
Pekok, 54
Peni, 54
Perfumes, 98
Pesas, 6
Petticoat, 30, 45, 54, 63, 74, 83, 84, 114, 122, 123
Phanek, 56
Phatoi, 48
Phento, 76
Pheran, 37, 38, 74
Pheta, 63 (*see also* Head-scarf)
Phetia, 76
Pheto, 45
Phuli, 106, 107
Phulkari, 76; of Punjab, 113
Pipal-Pattian, 106
Pnar, 55
Poch, 74
Poho, 54. (*see also* Headdress)
Pollri, 106
Poothukuli, worn by Toda couple, 85
Potdi, 45
Potia, 43, 44, 76, 77
Potrio, 76
Praveni, 94, 96
Puan, 56
Pudavai (*see* Sari)
Purdah, 33; absent in South, 30
Putki, 107
Putli, 107
Puz, 75
Pyjama(s), 30, 32, 38, 39, 40, 46, 47, 51, 62, 64-65, 71, 74, 76, 77, 83, 87, 122 of Mughal women, 34. (*see* also *Churidar*)

Q

Quaba, 21, (*see also* Coat)

R

Radha, 91, 92
Raj-Nartakis, 92
Rajput(s), 22, 75, 76, 112; in art of knot-dyeing, 112
Rakhdi, 79
Rasana, 104
Ratna-Kundla, 102
Ravika, 84
Ravikkai (*see* Jacket)
Rettaivesti, 67, (*see also* Dhoti)
Ribbon, 61
Riha, 54
Rikong, 54
Ring(s), 101, 102; Cane see Cane rings, multi-coiled, 105
Ri-sha, 55
Rococo, 17, 20
Rouge, 98

Roy, Raja Rammohun, 30

Rubies, 100, 101, 109

Rukma, 101

Rumal, 63, 82-83

S

Sadra, 62

Sadri, 75

Safa (Safo), 45, 75 (*see also* Headdress)

Saggi, 106

Sakachcha-nesana, 63

Saluka (Salooka), 48, 80

Salwar, 35, 37, 38, 41, 42, 43, 46, 48, 59, 66, 76, 77, 122, 126; Kameez, 33-35, 37; Kameez-dupatta combination, 122-123

Sampoo, 52 (*see also* Paiafzar, Shoes, Shotsi)

Sanchi, gateways of, 10, 98; Sculptures, 96. (*see also* Sculpture)

Sandalwood, 37, 98, 99

Sankha, 107

Sansis, 77

Santals, 77

Sarab Gati, 22

Sari, 28, 30, 34, 37, 40, 43, 49, 55, 59, 64, 66, 68, 70-71, 78-83, 87-89, 92, 93, 121, 122, 126; Gowda and Maratha style, 84; its origin, 45; in Muslim homes, 35; Silk, 77; in Karnataka and Tamil Nadu, 69; in Orissa, 51; in West Bengal, 50, 51; different, 114-118; in two different generations, 124; two varieties of, in Maharashtra, 62-63; how to wear, 114-118. (*see also* Nariyatu, Pamita, Seeri)

Sarong, 72, 123

Sarpa-kundla, 102

Sash, 24, 31, 53, 64

Satavahana Period 94; hairstyles of 96

Scarf, 11, 19, 34, 38, 42, 44, 68, 71, 83, 89, 94; return of, 17; Silken, 17. (*See also* Shalya)

Sculptures, 104, 105; of Bharhut, Bodh-Gaya, 10; of Bhubaneshwar, 97; dress in, 4; Gandhara, 12, 14; Gupta-Venkata period, 96; Kushan from Mathura, 12; of Pattadakal, 97; of Sanchi, 94

Sedsenki, 108

Seeri see Sari

Selai see Sari

Seragu see Sari

Shah Jahan 24

Shah-kpoh, 55

Shalya, 63. (*see also* Scarf)

Shamla, 51

Shankha-Patra-Kundla, 102

Shawl(s), 22, 37, 39, 53, 54, 57, 60, 88; woollen, 39

Sherwani, 31, 32, 33, 47, 65, 77, 122 (*see also* Achkan, Angarkha, Chapkan, Coat, Jabbho, Jamo, Jurkhi)

Shirt(s) 32, 37, 39, 47, 54, 55, 56, 59, 62-66, 71, 72, 74, 76-78, 81, 83, 84, 87, 122-125

Shoes, 14, 37, 113. (*see also* Paiafzar, Sampoo, Shotsi)

Shorts, 56, 71, 83, 88. 123, 126

Shotsi, 51. (*see also* Pajafzar, Sampoo, Shoes)

Shoulder-Band. 60. (*see also* Angocha, Gamcha, Gamosa, Towel, Uparni)

Shrinkhalas, 105

Shuja-ud-daula, 32

Sikris, 107

Silk, 110; Delhi, 20; Chinese, 20; Indian and Japanese, 34; Patala, of Gujarat, 110; Weaving flourished during the region of Guptas, 110

Silver, 100

Singphos, 60

Sing-taviti, 106

Sis Shobha, 22

Skirt, 18, 54, 56, 59, 60, 64, 66, 83, 90, 91, 104, 123. (*see also* Ghagra)

Skull Cap, 38, 64, 70, 74

Sunga Period, 9, 101; hairstyles of, 94

Surabhi, 5

Suruwal, 51

Suthan, 38, 39, 40, 75

Sutna, 41

Sutras, 110

Suvasana, 5

Swadeshi Movement, 45, 111; and boycott of English cloth, 32

T

Tahmad, 40, 41

Tandi-pot, 107

Tangyip, 53

Tanzeb, 22

Tapmokhlich, 55. (*see also* Headdress)

Tarpaya, 6. (*see also* Garment, lower)

Tauk, 107

Tefailah, from Mecca, 111

Textiles, 110-111

Thali, 108

Thariaizawa, 56

Thattom, 71 (*see also* Headdress)

Thattu Style, of wearing Dhoti, 70

Thepang, 39

Thirma see chadar

Thokro, 52, 53

Thomson, James, 100

Thovali patyhakkam, 108

Thuni (see Dhoti)

Thuri-shambu, 51. (*see also* Headdress)

Tiaras, 15, 102

Tie, 32, 33

Tika, 106

Tikuli, 102

Tili, 106

Toda(s), 85, 107

Togo, 53

Tora, 107

Torthu, 70. (*see also* Garment, upper)

Torthumundu, 70. (*see also* Garment, upper)

Towel, 65, 66, 70, (*see also* Angocha; Gamcha, Gamosa, Shoulder-band, Uparni)

Trevelyan, Sir Charles, 124

Trikachcham, 66

Trousers, 15, 27, 31, 37, 38, 39, 46, 54-56, 59, 64, 72, 74, 77, 83, 84, 89, 123, 126; becoming wider, 32; of dancing girls, 35; English, 32; tight-fitting, 18; with puckers, 23. (*see also* Izar)

Tsering Kengyap Shambu, 52, (*see also* Headdress)

Tughluq, Firoz, 20

Tumok, 53. (*see also* Sword)

Tunic(s), 14, 15, 51; Greek, of Doric period, 38

Turban, 12-14, 25, 27, 30, 32, 38-40, 47, 49, 51, 63, 64, 84, 96, 102; Akbar type, 23; closely tied, 18; Jat, Ahir and Rajput wear, in their own styles, 43; several styles of, 41; two types of, 83; used by men and women, 10. (*see also* Headdress)

Turmeric, 98

U

Uarbandha, 104

Undergarment(s), 37, 50, 54, 71, 74, 84; traditional, 70

Uniforms, school, 37

Upanishads, 6, 110

Upanita Ceremony, clothes used during, 6, 110

Uparni, 62. (*see also* Angocha, Gamcha, Gamosa, Shoulder-Band, Towel)

Upavita, 7

Urna-sutra, 6

Ushnisha, 6. (*see also* Headdress, Turban)

Uttariya, 6. (*see also* Garment, upper)

V

Vadhuya, 6

Vajratik, 107

Valyas, 105

Vasa, 6. (*see also* Garment, lower)

Vedic Age, 5, 6, 7, 110; hairstyle of women in, 94

Velvet, 111

Veni, 94

Vest, 54, 71,

Vesti, 87

Visalamurugu, 108

Vivekananda, Swami, headdress of, 62

W

Waistband, 39, 40, 60

Waistcoat, 48, 53, 113, 123

Wankdi, 108

Women, 18, 87, 88, 101, 121; Ahir, Jat and Rajput, 43; of ancient India, and hairstyle, 94; Banjara, 79; Bhumij, 81; bobbed hair, depicted in Ajanta Murals, 97; Chenchu, 84; Coorg, 68,101-2; adapting dresses of other regions, 35; in Vedic Age, 94, 110; Garo, 55; Gond, 80; Gowda, 84; Hindu, Christian and Muslim, 66, 88; Irula, dress of, 87; Iyengar, 69, 87; Iyer, 68, 69, 87; Kabui tribe, 56; Kanjar, 77; Khasi, traditional dress of, 55; Lamani, 83; Lambadi, love for embroidered dress, 84; Lepcha, 53; Manipur, 56; Maratha, style of wearing Sari, 84; of Mauryan period, 96; Minicoy, 71; and modernity in apparel, 33; Mughal, 34; Muslim. 56, 66, 70, 71,, 106; Nair, dress of, 87; Nishi, 60; Pnar, 55; Sansi, dress of, 77; in the second century, 13; Sporting Saris, 37; Tangkhul, 56; Tamil, 68; in Tamil Nadu, 70; Toda, 70; Tribal, 80; Tripura, 55; and Western dress, 32

Y

Yajnopavita, 13, 16, 104

Yar pairahanh, 22

Yentatsi, 51

Z

Zanjir, 107

Zhabla, 79

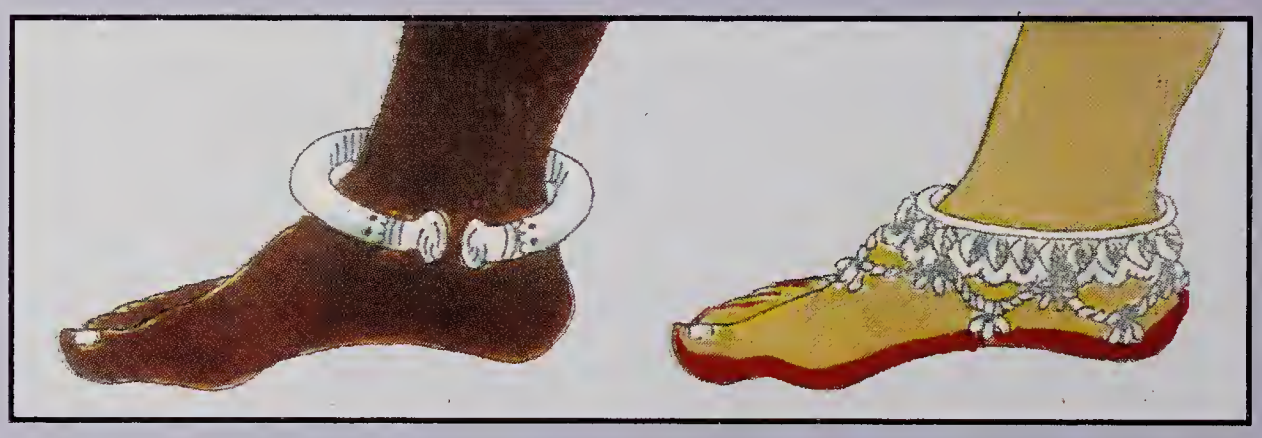
zula, 49

Shri Arabinda Biswas is a well-known educationist who has many books on education to his credit. Throughout his varied career as a civil servant, he never missed an opportunity to study culture, especially the costumes of the country. As he toured through different regions he would observe and collect visual material on costumes as a hobby.

This is the author's first book on the subject. His other books include : Indian Educational Documents since Independence, Education in India, Encylopaedic Dictionary and Directory of Education (2 vols.) etc.

Costume is a cultural visual of the people. It provides the vital clue to their customs, tastes, aesthetic temper - in other words, their way of living. The community decides as to what to wear and how to wear. It also decides about the distinctions to be made on the basis of sex and age, class and castes, religion and region, occasion and occupation. There is community sanction too on what part of the body to be covered, or what to be left bare, how to conceal and how to reveal. Costume is truly a kind of a dressing-table mirror of the time and the people. Man's thinking changes, so do the styles and dress. He imitates the old as well as adjusts to the new needs, tastes and circumstances. Foreign conquests, exotic ideas and new influences also bring in changes.

This book which is sufficiently illustrated depicts in detail the dress transformation that had taken place over the ages in our country, known for its diversity.



PUBLICATIONS DIVISION
MINISTRY OF INFORMATION & BROADCASTING
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

ISBN : 81-230-1055-9
PRICE : Rs. 110.00